

The Historical Outlook

A JOURNAL FOR

READERS, STUDENTS AND TEACHERS OF HISTORY

Continuing The History Teacher's Magazine

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CONTENTS

PAGE

1919 in the Light of 1788, by Dr. E. C. Burnett	-	-	171
The New Germany, by Prof. L. M. Larson	-	-	175
A German View of Foreign Opinion of Germany before 1914, translated by Prof. C. W. Park	-	-	178
The Origin of the Stars and Stripes, by G. E. Hastings	-		181
What France Has Done in the War, by the French High Commission	-	-	184
Reconstruction of History Teaching	-	-	189
The War and History Methods, by Prof. S. B. Harding; Statement of Program of Committee on History and Education for Citizenship			
The Card Method in Research and Note-Taking	-	-	192
Method of Noting and Arranging Research Material, by B. Mitchell; The Class as a Productive Factor, by D. W. Bepler; Suggestion for the History Notebook, by P. T. Smith			
United States and the World War, by Prof. H. G. Plum	-		198
Supplement	-	-	209
The Treaty of Peace of May 30, 1814; text of the Holy Alliance, Sept. 26, 1815; Constitution of the League of Nations, Feb. 14, 1919			
Periodical Articles on History Teaching, listed by W. L. Hall, 191; Periodical Literature, by Dr. G. B. Richards, 200; Book Reviews, edited by Prof. W. J. Chase, 201; Reports from the Historical Field, 206; Recent Historical Publications, listed by Dr. C. A. Coulomb, 207.			

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1919 in the Light of 1788

BY EDMUND C. BURNETT, PH.D., DEPARTMENT OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH, CARNEGIE INSTITUTION OF WASHINGTON.

Shortly after the adjournment of the Federal Convention, in the autumn of 1787, Benjamin Franklin wrote to a correspondent in France: "I send you enclosed the proposed new Federal Constitution for these States. . . If it succeeds, I do not see why you might not in Europe carry the project of good Henry the 4th into Execution, by forming a Federal Union and One Grand Republic of all its different States and Kingdoms; by means of a like Convention; for we had many Interests to reconcile." In the Convention, Wilson of Pennsylvania had said: "The great system of Henry IVth of France, aided by the greatest statesmen, is small when compared to the fabric we are about to erect." This sentiment of Franklin was perhaps merely one of his playful fancies; yet if Franklin were to return to the world to-day he would probably be but little surprised (unless it should be that it was so late in coming) to find the world endeavoring to create a federation on a grander scale even than that wrought by the fathers of the Constitution, a society of nations of which their own union of states is to be an integral member. Certainly Franklin's interest in the grand experiment would be of the keenest.

The present controversy over the league of nations bears many likenesses to the contest over the Constitution. Great minds both in and out of the Convention believed that not only the welfare of America was involved, but that the deepest interests of mankind were at stake. "The happiness and liberty of the people to the latest generation," and similar phrases were on many men's lips. Wilson of Pennsylvania said that the magnitude of the object before the members of the Federal Convention filled their minds with awe and apprehension. Washington declared that "our prosperity, felicity, safety, perhaps our national existence" were involved. And the opponents of the Constitution were not one whit behind the advocates in proclaiming the deep significance of the issue.

So accustomed have we become to the smooth working of the Constitution, so successfully has it functioned during these hundred and thirty years, that many of the objections brought in all seriousness against it when it was offered for adoption appear to us absurd and supremely stupid; and the fears and tremblings manifested by many men of the time lest the liberties of the people be sacrificed to this new

Moloch seem but bugaboos raised by their own untamed imaginations, and are not accounted unto them for wisdom.

And yet not all the men who opposed the Constitution or severely criticised it would have been considered by their contemporaries as men of no vision; although it must be said that many of them were men of visions rather than of vision, men who could see three (or more) tyrants grow under the new Constitution where only one grew before.

It may be well to see who some of these men were. In Massachusetts there was Elbridge Gerry, who had been a member of the Convention but had refused to sign the Constitution. He had also been a member of the Continental Congress and a useful one. He was accounted something of a politician. A proof of his political shrewdness is the fact that by the invention of a political device he has sent his name rumbling down through the corridors of American politics and has writ his name in the dictionary, "Gerrymander." He afterward became Vice President under the constitution which he had opposed. Samuel Adams, although he at the first declared that he stumbled at the threshold, because he met with a "National Government instead of a Federal Union of Sovereign States," was eventually brought around to the support of the Constitution by the recognition that the majority of the people were for it. John Hancock also hesitated, and it is related that he had a convenient fit of the gout until he was enabled to see which way the political cat was about to jump.

Chief among the antagonists in New York, were Robert Yates, John Lansing, Melancthon Smith and George Clinton. Yates and Lansing had been members of the Constitutional Convention, but had left early in disgust. Smith was a member of Congress and a shrewd lawyer. George Clinton had been the able Governor of New York during most of the Revolution, and he also subsequently became Vice President of the United States.

Another member of the Convention who shook off the dust of his shoes and left before the work was finished was Luther Martin of Maryland, another lawyer whose mind became entangled in technicalities. In South Carolina there was Rawlins Lowndes, sometime governor of the state. It is of interest to note that he had also opposed the Declaration of Independence.

In Virginia there were several valiant opponents of the instrument. To mention only some of the most prominent: George Mason had been a member of the Convention, but like Gerry had refused to sign the document. Edmund Randolph also refused to sign, but eventually brought himself to accept the Constitution. William Grayson had been a member of the Convention, and had also recently been a member of Congress. Of lesser importance were Benjamin Harrison, father of a future President; John Tyler, father of another President, and James Monroe, who himself became President, and whose name has also been writ large (by John Quincy Adams, we are told) in the American political and diplomatic vocabulary. But the greatest of the Virginia antagonists in the vigor of their opposition were Patrick Henry and Richard Henry Lee. Both of them were orators of renown, both had done notable service in the Revolutionary cause, but both alike were incapable of constructive statesmanship. It was charged by Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut, that Lee was opposed to the Constitution because Washington was for it. This was a very wicked accusation if it was not true; and if it was true no one really knew it except Lee himself, and probably he did not. Men are not always able to analyze their own motives. Henry was a member of the Virginia Convention and there poured forth torrents of oratory in denunciation of the Constitution. Lee was not of the Convention but he thundered against the plan through letters. The speeches of Henry in the Virginia Convention remind one of nothing so much as of a man who had lifted himself by his own bootstraps into the clouds, whence he looked down toward the earth and beheld storms sweeping hither and thither over the land, carrying destruction in their paths. In most of the other states the opponents were a lesser fry.

The sad thing about the opponents of the Constitution is that during the rest of their lives those of them who did not actually disappear from political life were kept busy explaining. Who shall say that in the future years some of the men of our time may not be similarly engaged?

It is not intended here to suggest that all the criticisms of the Constitution were fanciful or chimerical, that none of them were pertinent and worth while. Some of the strongest advocates of the adoption of the Constitution when once it had been framed had made serious objections in the Convention to some of its features. Many were willing to accept it if it should be amended in certain particulars. There were those who believed with Washington that it were better to adopt it as it stood and amend it afterward; others thought it should be amended before adoption; while some would reject it bodily, even maintaining that the old Articles of Confederation were a superior instrument, and this in spite of the fact that the Confederation had already all but yielded up the ghost. Indeed there was every variety of opinion except one, namely, that which eventually came to be the prevailing one, that it was almost perfect, "the greatest in-

strument of government ever struck off at one time by the brain and purpose of man."

A glance at some of the utterances in that contest may be helpful to us in attaining a proper sense of values for the views put forth upon the similar momentous question of our day. The beliefs, the hopes, the fears voiced by the men confronted with the alternative of acceptance or rejection of the Constitution are no mean standard by which to measure the judgments pronounced upon the proposed covenant of the league of nations. The selections which follow are but fragments taken almost at random, but they show something of the flavor and tone of the discussion.

Elbridge Gerry's criticisms of the Constitution concerned several aspects of it and were briefly summarized by him in a letter to the Massachusetts legislature:

"My principal objections to the plan are, that there is no adequate provision for a representation of the people; that they have no security for the right of election; that some of the powers of the legislature are ambiguous, and others indefinite and dangerous; that the executive is blended with, and will have an undue influence over the legislature; that the judicial department will be oppressive; that treaties of the highest importance may be formed by the president with the advice of two-thirds of a quorum of the senate; and that the system is without the security of a bill of rights. These are objections which are not local, but apply equally to all the states. . . The constitution proposed has few if any federal features; but is rather a system of national government."

Richard Henry Lee, after "long reflection," was led to fear "the danger that will ensue to Civil Liberty from the adoption of the new system in its present form." "The essential defects in the construction of the Legislature and the dangerous blending of the Legislative and Executive powers, so as to prevent all responsibility, are such radical objections, as render this plan inadmissible, in my opinion, without amendments. . . Arbitrary government is indeed so carefully entrenched and barricaded against democratic influences, that I am very much mistaken if Civil Liberty does not expire under its operation." "The only check to be found in favour of the democratic principle, in this system, is the House of Representatives, which, I believe, may justly be called a mere shred or rag of representation. . . But what is the power given to this ill-constructed body: To judge of what may be for the *general welfare*, and such judgment, when made that of Congress, is to be the *supreme law of the land*." "To say that a bad government must be established for fear of anarchy, is really saying that we should kill ourselves for fear of dying."

Like the hunter who aimed at the bear "generally," Patrick Henry attacked the Constitution at practically all points, declaiming upon the threat to liberty:

"The question turns, sir, on that poor little thing—the expression, "We, the *people*," instead of the *states* of America. I need not take much pains to show

that the principles of this system are extremely pernicious, impolitic, and dangerous . . . Our rights and privileges are endangered, and the sovereignty of the states will be relinquished. . . The rights of conscience, trial by jury, liberty of the press, all your immunities and franchises, all pretensions to human rights and privileges, are rendered insecure, if not lost. . . Will the abandonment of your most sacred rights tend to the security of your liberty? Liberty, the greatest of earthly blessings—give us that precious jewel, and you may take everything else! . . . Suspect every one who approaches that jewel. . . In some parts of the plan before you the great rights of freedom are endangered; in other parts absolutely taken away. . . The honorable gentleman said that great danger would ensue if the Convention rose without adopting this system. I ask, where is the danger? I see none. . . Some minds are agitated by foreign alarms. Happily for us there is no real danger from Europe; that country is engaged in more arduous business, from that quarter there is no cause of fear; you may sleep in safety forever for them. . . Why, then, tell us of danger to terrify us into an adoption of this new form of government. And yet who knows the dangers that this new system may produce? . . . This Constitution is said to have beautiful features; but when I come to examine these features, sir, they appear to me horribly frightful. Among other deformities, it has an awful squinting; it squints towards monarchy; . . . Your President may easily become a king. Your Senate is so imperfectly constructed that your dearest rights may be sacrificed by what may be a small minority. . . If your American chief be a man of ambition and abilities, how easy is it for him to render himself absolute! . . . Can he not, at the head of the army, beat down every opposition? Away with your President! we shall have a king; the army will salute him monarch."

Many others held similar views, among them Rawlins Lowndes of South Carolina. In his view this was the best preparatory plan for a monarchical government he had read. "How easy the transition! No difficulty occurred in finding a king; the President was the man proper for this appointment. The Senate hailing him a king. . . will naturally say to one another, 'You see how we are situated; certainly it is for our country's benefit that we should all be lords; and lords they are.'" Of the Articles of Confederation he said: "We are now under the government of a most excellent constitution, one that has stood the test of time. . . a constitution sent like a blessing from Heaven; yet we are impatient to change it for another, that vested power in a few to pull down that fabric which we had raised at the expense of our blood."

Mr. White of Massachusetts also thought that "Congress might perpetuate themselves, and so reign emperors over us." For his part he "would not trust a flock of Moseses." His colleague, Mr. Turner, declared: "I do not wish to give Congress a power which they can abuse. . . Some gentlemen are pleased

to hold up the idea that we may be blessed with sober, solid, upright men in Congress. I wish that we may be favored with such rulers; but I fear they will not all, if most, be the best moral or political characters."

Mr. Singletary gave it as his opinion that "these lawyers, and men of learning, and moneyed men, that talk so finely and gloss over matters so smoothly, to make us poor illiterate people swallow down the pill, expect to get into Congress themselves. . . and then they will swallow up all us little folks, like the great *Leviathan*, Mr. President; yes, just as the whale swallowed up *Jonah*. That is what I am afraid of."

The Rev. Mr. West was astonished at such arguments. "They have only started *possible* objections. I wish the gentlemen would show us that what they so much deprecate is *probable*. . . Because power *may* be abused, shall we be reduced to anarchy and a state of nature?"

The men of Massachusetts were not the only men of that time who had read scripture to advantage and could draw forceful illustrations or figures of speech therefrom. Mr. Tredwell of New York, exclaimed: "Why surrender up the dear-bought liberties of our country? . . . If we act with coolness, firmness, and decision on this occasion, I have the fullest confidence that the God who has so lately delivered us out of the paw of the lion and the bear, will also deliver us from this Goliath, this uncircumcised Philistine. This government is founded in sin, and reared up in iniquity . . . and I fear if it goes into operation, we shall be justly punished with the total extinction of our civil liberties."

In many quarters there was serious alarm over what might take place in consequence of the exclusive power of legislation given to Congress over that ten miles square which was to be the home of the federal government. Among those who saw dangers lurking there was George Mason of Virginia. "This ten miles square may set at defiance the laws of the surrounding states, and may, like the custom of the superstitious days of our ancestors, become the sanctuary of the blackest crimes. Here the federal courts are to sit. . . Now, sir, if an attempt should be made to establish tyranny over the people, here are ten miles square where the greatest offender may meet protection. If any of their officers, or creatures, should attempt to oppress the people, or should actually perpetrate the blackest deed, he has nothing to do but get into the ten miles square." His colleague, Grayson, had similar anxieties.

Samuel Osgood of Massachusetts, who had been a member of the Continental Congress, and was at the time on the Continental treasury board, wrote to Samuel Adams (January 5, 1788): "It has cost me many a Sleepless Night to find out the most obnoxious Part of the proposed Plan; and I have finally fixed upon the exclusive Legislation in the Ten Miles Square." He then conjured from the vasty deep of his imagination a horde of evils that might flourish in the ten miles square. "This Space is capable of holding two millions of People, brought up under the

Hand of Despotism, without one privilege of humanity . . . secluded from the world of freemen, and seated down among Slaves and Tenants at will."

The honorable Mr. Tredwell of New York, had similar misgivings—if not worse. "Nor do I see how this evil can possibly be prevented, without razing the foundation of this happy place, where men are to live, without labor, upon the fruit of the labors of others; this political hive, where all the drones in the society are to be collected to feed on the honey of the land."

Perhaps the climax of absurdity was attained by one Gilbert Livingston of New York. He was animadverting upon the dangers to be apprehended from the powers bestowed upon the Senate. "These are the powers . . . which are vested in this small body of twenty-six men; in some cases to be exercised by a bare quorum, which is fourteen; a majority of which number, again, is eight. . . Consider, sir, the great influence which this body, armed at all points, will have. What will be the effect of this? Probably a security of their re-election, as long as they please. Indeed, in my view, it will amount nearly to an appointment for life. What will be their situation in a federal town? Hallowed ground! Nothing so unclean as state laws to enter there, surrounded, as they will be, by a wall of adamant and gold, the wealth of the whole country flowing into it." [Here a member, who did not fully understand, called out to know what wall the gentleman meant; on which he turned and replied, "A wall of gold—of adamant, which will flow in from all parts of the continent." "At which flowing metaphor," says the chronicler, there was "a great laugh in the house."] "In this Eden," continued the speaker, "will they reside with their families, distant from the observation of the people. In such a situation, men are apt to forget their dependence, lose their sympathy, and contract selfish habits."

Most of these extracts have been from the "cons;" something by way of antidote should be drawn from the "pros." One of the most effective speeches in the Massachusetts Convention was made by a man named Smith, stirred by experiences of the Shays rebellion. It is well worth reading entire, for there is good doctrine in it even to-day.

"Mr. President, I am a plain man, and get my living by the plough. I am not used to speak in public, but I beg your leave to say a few words to my brother ploughjoggers in this house. I have lived in a part of the country where I have known the worth of good government by the want of it. There was a black cloud that rose in the east last winter, and spread over the west. . . It brought on a state of anarchy, and that led to tyranny. . . How dreadful! how distressing was this! Our distress was so great that we should have been glad to snatch at anything that looked like a government. Had any person that was able to protect us, come and set up his standard, we should all have flocked to it, even if it had been a monarch; and that monarch might have proved a

tyrant;—so that you see that anarchy leads to tyranny, and better have one tyrant than so many at once.

"Now, Mr. President, when I saw this Constitution, I found that it was a cure for these disorders. It was just such a thing as we wanted. I got a copy of it, and read it over and over. I had been a member of the Convention to form our own state constitution, and had learnt something of the checks and balances of power, and I found them all here. I did not go to any lawyer, to ask his opinion; we have no lawyer in our town, and we do well enough without. I formed my own opinion, and was pleased with this Constitution . . . These lawyers, these moneyed men, these men of learning, are all embarked in the same cause with us, and we must all swim or sink together; and shall we throw the Constitution overboard because it does not please us alike? . . . Some gentlemen say, Don't be in a hurry; take time to consider, and don't take a leap in the dark. I say, Take things in time; gather fruit when it is ripe. There is a time to sow and a time to reap; we sowed our seed when we sent men to the federal Convention; now is the harvest, now is the time to reap the fruit of our labor; and if we don't do it now, I am afraid we never shall have another opportunity."

Finally it is good to recall the counsel given in the last number of the *Federalist*:

"Let us now pause and ask ourselves whether, in the course of these papers, the proposed Constitution has not been satisfactorily vindicated from the aspersions thrown upon it; and whether it has not been shown to be worthy of the public approbation and necessary to the public safety and prosperity. Every man is bound to answer these questions to himself according to the best of his conscience and understanding and to act agreeably to the genuine and sober dictates of his judgment. This is a duty from which nothing can give him a dispensation. 'Tis one that he is called upon, nay, constrained by all the obligations that form the bonds of society, to discharge sincerely and honestly. No partial motive, no particular interest, no pride of opinion, no temporary passion or prejudice, will justify to himself, to his country, or to his posterity an improper election of the part he is to act. Let him beware of an obstinate adherence to party; and let him reflect that the object upon which he is to decide is not a particular interest of the community, but the very existence of the Nation."

"Side-Lights on the War" is the title of a small book by Superintendent W. L. Nida (pp. 159, Oak Park, Ill., Hale Book Co.). The work contains twenty-five chapters upon special topics connected with the war. Among these are: "The Making of an Aviator," "Defeating the Submarine," "Camouflage on Land and Sea," "The Scheme of the Bagdad Railway," "Germany's Copper Famine," "Platinum and the War," "Sulphur in War Times." The author has collected a large amount of interesting material and he has told his stories in simple and direct style.

The New Germany

BY PROFESSOR LAURENCE M. LARSON, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS.

"The Old Germany is no more." With this striking sentence the revolutionary government in Berlin introduced its first manifesto, issued in the afternoon of November 10, 1918. Many profess to doubt the correctness and even the honesty of this announcement, and it is, of course, possible that the "New Germany" may prove to be very similar to the Germany that perished last November; still, there can be no question that the great empire of the Hohenzollerns has suffered a real revolution, the effects of which are likely to extend to every province of Germanic life.

When the Kaiser on October 26 approved the resignation of General Ludendorff, he sealed the fate of the imperial regime. Believing that the ministry of Prince Max was planning to deprive him of all real authority, he left Berlin a few days later (October 31) and joined the army on the Belgian front. His absence from the capital proved to be a fact of great importance when the revolution broke out the following week. Though it is unlikely that he would in any event have been able to stem the tide, his presence in Berlin would have made it much more difficult for the Socialists to seize the control of the city.

For the recent changes in Germany are remarkable in this respect: there was no organized revolutionary movement and there was no organized loyal opposition. The Socialists had made some preparation for the event, which they felt was sure to come, but their plans were neither adequate nor mature. And the arm of the old regime was paralyzed.

The uprising began in Kiel on November 5 and in the course of a few days the movement had reached almost every part of the empire. The following day the Germans received President Wilson's final reply to their request for an armistice, and a few hours later Herr Erzberger and his associates had begun their journey to the headquarters of Marshal Foch.

The Socialists were apparently taken by surprise. Of the two ventures, the revolt and the armistice, the latter looked the more promising. Accordingly, their leaders began to agitate for abdication, their argument being that if Germany were rid of the Hohenzollerns, the Allies might be disposed to give more generous terms. On November 7 they presented an ultimatum to the chancellor demanding that the Kaiser abdicate before noon of the following day (the time was later extended to November 11). The government understood the threat and made some feeble efforts to secure the capital against an uprising; but the soldiers on whom it depended refused to obey orders, and some of them even placed themselves at the disposal of the revolutionists.

Encouraged by the attitude of the soldiers, the Socialist leaders prepared to seize the government (November 8).

In a speech delivered from the steps of the *Reichstag* building Philip Scheidemann, who was still a member of the imperial cabinet, quite informally proclaimed a republic. On the following day, Saturday, November 9, the German republic was actually born. On that day three important events occurred:

(1) Prince Max announced that the Kaiser had determined to renounce the throne. The monarchy was passing.

(2) In Munich a republic was proclaimed and Kurt Eisner, a Galician of Jewish blood, seized the reins of government and became virtual dictator in the Catholic state of Bavaria.

(3) In the morning a group of Social Democratic leaders in Berlin descended upon the chancellor's residence with the demand that a Socialistic government be formed. Prince Max saw nothing to do but surrender. With the approval of his colleagues in the ministry he transferred the high office of chancellor to Friedrich Ebert. It is said that Scheidemann was first offered the position, but not having unbounded faith in the outcome of the revolution, he declined the honor in favor of his more confident colleague. Early in the afternoon the saddlemaker from Heidelberg took possession of the chancellor's palace. The republic had come.

For a single day Ebert remained at the head of the German state. On Sunday, November 10, the newly-organized soldiers' and workmen's councils of Berlin held a great meeting in Circus Busch. By this assembly, which Ebert recognized, the imperial constitution was formally repudiated. It was further determined to give Germany a new constitution, but until this could be formed, all political power and sovereign rights were to remain with the new councils, the German soviets.

II.

It will be recalled that the Social Democratic party had for some time been split into two factions, the Majority group led by Ebert and Scheidemann, and a Minority, the Independents, who followed the lead of Haase and Dittmann. Though the latter faction had but little strength in the *Reichstag*, its members had been far more active in the revolution than the leaders of the Majority. Ebert and Scheidemann consequently realized that it would be unwise for them to undertake the formation of a government without the active assistance of Hugo Haase and his radical associates. These, however, were unwilling to join their more moderate rivals in this task, and it was only after they had been commanded to do so by the councils at the meeting of November 10 that they agreed to co-operate.

The government that was devised by the German soviets on that day may be outlined as follows:

(1) All sovereignty was held to be vested in the various councils of Germany, but until these could be federated the soviet of Greater Berlin was to act for the entire nation.

(2) The principal organ of this council was a central committee of twenty-four members (the number was later increased), six representing each of the two Socialist factions and twelve chosen to represent the soldiers.

(3) The executive authority was entrusted to a body of six People's Commissioners: Ebert, Scheidemann, and Lansberg, of the Majority, and Haase, Dittman, and Barth, of the Independent group.

(4) The departments of the central administration were, as far as possible, kept intact; the ministers were ordered to remain at their posts, but in determining the policies of the government they were to have no share except as the People's Commissioners might ask their advice and assistance.

The new administration soon found itself in the midst of serious difficulties. The revolution continued its course in the provinces, but the local leaders failed to ask for aid and direction from the new Ebert-Haase government. The People's Commissioners claimed authority throughout the entire nation, but their proclamations and manifestos were unheeded and their orders ignored outside Greater Berlin. It seems correct to say that for a fortnight or longer there was no recognized central authority in Germany.

Meanwhile three difficult problems were pressing for immediate solution, on all of which the government found itself in violent disagreement.

(1) To the orthodox Socialist nothing could be dearer than the immediate socialization of the means and agencies of production. But the Majority realized that to proceed with such a program while the nation was still clamoring for peace would be to invite a swift reaction. There were also the peasants to take into account, whose organ, the Peasants' League, while going on record in favor of a series of liberal reforms, demanded that the right to private property and to enjoy inheritances be maintained. On the other hand, the Minority Socialists seemed to favor socialization first and peace afterwards.

(2) It was generally understood that before Germany could hope for peace a stable government must be formed. But the extreme wing of the Independent Socialist faction, the so-called Spartacides, led by Dr. Liebknecht and the fanatical Rosa Luxemburg, were not interested in the subject of peace. To the Spartacides the most important matter was to deprive the bourgeois elements of all political rights and to establish a republic of the Bolshevik type with the proletariat in complete control. One of the People's Commissioners, Herr Barth, sympathized actively with this purpose.

(3) A difference of opinion also developed within the ranks of the government as to where the supreme authority was actually located. The Central Committee claimed for itself the highest place in the state as the executive organ of the soviets. The People's

Commissioners, on the other hand, insisted that they were the executive officials and that their activities must not be contravened. The dispute threatened to have serious consequences, but on November 23 an agreement was reached according to which the Commissioners were recognized as holding the headship of the state, it being understood, however, that the central committee had certain powers of supervision which might extend even to the recall of unsatisfactory commissioners.

(4) There was further disagreement as to what authority remained to the officials chosen under the old constitution. The real problem here was in the central administration. With the abdication of Germany's many kings and princes the *Bundesrath* also disappeared, as it was essentially a council of princes or their representatives. But what of the *Reichstag*? There were those who held that this body had lost none of its functions, that it still represented the German people, and that it was competent even to make peace with the Allies. To this the Socialists refused to agree, as the *Reichstag* had an anti-Socialist majority.

III.

For a month following the revolution the Ebert-Haase administration was notable chiefly for its inability to govern. Though it claimed authority throughout the nation, it received little recognition beyond the limits of Greater Berlin. A conference of Socialist leaders, numbering about seventy, had indeed declared for a unified state under the provisional leadership of the soviets at the capital, but this recognition had little practical value.

In Berlin, too, the government was weak. It feared the army and seemed unwilling or unable to organize a force of its own. Meanwhile Dr. Liebknecht was organizing a strong force of revolutionists with Bolshevik tendencies, a force largely recruited from groups to whom the government had earlier distributed arms and munitions.

On December 5 the new government received its first accession of real military strength; about 2,000 non-commissioned officers on that day announced their allegiance to the Socialistic regime. The Spartacides felt that the time to strike had come. The events of "Bloody Friday" (December 6) terrified the more moderate elements and very few believed that the Commissioners would be able to maintain their position. For again there was disagreement among them: the Minority members, and especially Barth, were strongly opposed to the use of force in dealing with the rioters.

But a few days later (December 10) the famous Prussian guardsmen began to appear in the capital, where they were received with great enthusiasm. Ebert allowed them to retain their weapons and swore them into the service of the republic. The revolution at last had the nucleus of an efficient and dependable army.

On December 16 a congress of delegates from the various German soviets assembled in Berlin to select

a central committee for the entire nation and to consider the advisability of calling a national assembly. About 400 were in attendance, nearly all belonging to the Majority faction. This congress approved the project of calling an assembly and selected a central committee of twenty-seven members, all chosen from the Majority Socialist faction.

When the Spartacides once more threw Berlin into turmoil during Christmas week, Haase and his two associates again protested against the use of force in dealing with a rioting "people." As their objections were overruled by the new central committee, they had no choice but to resign. Their places were promptly filled by the selection of three Majority Socialists — Noske, Wissel and Loebe. Noske had joined the revolution in its earlier stage at Kiel, and his appointment added both strength and energy to the government.

There now remained but one Independent Socialist in high office in Berlin: Eichhorn, the chief of the capital police. Early in January he was dismissed from his office. This move was the signal for a new uprising in Berlin. On Sunday, January 5, the Spartacides renewed their efforts to gain control of the city and the government. For more than a week the riots continued and, when quiet was again restored, Dr. Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were counted among the dead.

IV.

Ebert and Scheidemann having now overcome all serious opposition, there seemed no longer to be any reason why they should not proceed with their plans to give Germany a permanent government. It was agreed that the constituent assembly should hold its sessions in the old Thuringian city of Weimar, the home of Herder and Wieland and Schiller and Goethe, surely a proper meeting-place for an assembly, the great task of which was to restore freedom to the German race.

For some time the bourgeois elements had been actively preparing for the test of strength that might be expected at Weimar. The elections for delegates to the assembly were held in most districts on January 19. An effort was made to secure representation to all shades of opinion: women were permitted to vote; the age limit for voting was placed at twenty years; and proportional representation was provided for.

In these elections the old conservative groups appeared as the National People's party. The leading elements of this party were the Pan-Germans and the Junkers of northern and eastern Prussia. They secured forty-two delegates.

A fraction of the old National Liberal group had formed itself into a German People's party. This was also conservative though less reactionary than the National party. It elected twenty-one delegates.

A new Democratic party (formed from the Progressives and the more radical among the National Liberals) elected seventy-five members. This party

seems to have accepted the republic as the only solution of the constitutional problem. The Democratic group is distinctly a German party, having adherents in all parts of the country. Among its leaders are such well-known men as Dr. Dernburg, Naumann, of Mid-Europe fame; Theodore Wolff, and Prince Max of Baden. Its leading organs are the *Frankfurter Zeitung* and the *Berliner Tageblatt*.

The old Center (Catholic) party had reorganized itself as a Christian People's party, but since the elections it has resumed the old name. It has its strength chiefly in Bavaria and the Rhine country. It secured eighty-eight representatives.

The Socialists elected 185 delegates, twenty-two of the Minority and 163 of the Majority. Various minor groups secured eleven members. It thus appears that no single party was given control of the convention. With the assistance of the Democrats the Socialists will be able to organize the state on a republican basis; but it is evident that a purely Socialistic constitution is out of the question.

The constituent assembly began its sessions on February 6. Its first presiding officer was Herr David, a prominent Majority Socialist who received 374 out of the 399 votes cast (the Minority Socialists took no part in the balloting).

Three days later a provisional constitution was adopted and on February 11 Friedrich Ebert was chosen first president of the German republic by a vote of 277 out of 379 cast. The provisional arrangements also provided for a ministry of fourteen members, half of whom were to be chosen from the president's own party. Of the remaining seven the Democrats and the Centrists were given three each.

The revival of the chancellor's title and office indicates that the convention is likely to retain, as far as possible, certain time-honored forms and features of the old constitution. The same spirit appears in the refusal to substitute the term *Republik* for the ancient *Reich*. The most perplexing problem before the assembly seems to be the form of the state: shall it be a federation or a centralized republic? If a federal plan is adopted, the problem of Prussia immediately forces itself into the foreground. Many Germans are opposed to a system in which Prussia is a controlling factor and have urged its division into a group of five or six states.

But the greatest question is whether the more extreme revolutionists will permit the Weimar assembly to carry its work forward to completion.

The changed conditions of British labor during the war, the critical situation of labor at that time, the fundamental need of arbitration between labor and capital are discussed in "The Outlook for British Labor" in the February *North American Review*. "War has stimulated all factors of undiscipline and of unrest within the ranks of Trade Unionism which had declared themselves before its outbreak. . . . Many and grave are the perils and difficulties that beset the process of reconstruction, . . . but it is not likely that these will be complicated by anything even approaching a social or industrial cataclysm."

Foreign Opinion of Germany before 1914 — A German Interpretation

TRANSLATED BY PROFESSOR CLYDE WILLIAM PARK, UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI.

Since we have begun to think exclusively in terms of the Great War, it is but natural that many *ante-bellum* utterances which originally attracted small notice should be rediscovered and hailed as prophecies fulfilled. So various and conflicting, indeed, were the statements of publicists, that every possible contingency from pacifist Millennium to militarist Armageddon was anticipated. To distinguish the seers, we have only to recall the literature of the pre-war period and to pick out those writers whose guesses have been justified by events. It is a fascinating, if also a somewhat futile thing—this belated identification of the true prophets.

And yet, an important distinction can be made among the re-discovered prophecies. Although many of them are superficial deductions which merely chanced to be correct, others are deliberate judgments, based on wide observation and careful study. The former opinions have only the curious and passing interest of coincidence; the latter are recalled with profit, and are given, upon second reading, something of the attention which they at first deserved.

In the winter of 1909-1910, more than a year before the Agadir controversy, an article appeared in a leading German monthly,¹ setting forth Germany's unique and unenviable position among the nations. The writer, who as author of numerous historical works on German Kultur was in a position to speak with authority, frankly recognized a growing dislike for Germany abroad. Professor Steinhausen's article suggests that although the cause was not clearly defined, Germany's prophetic soul discerned more clearly than her potential enemies the coming era of mutual hatred. Dismissing as insufficient the usual explanations, trade rivalry and jealousy of her rising military power, he turned to historical sources to show that isolation and antipathy have ever been Germany's fate, and are to a large extent bound up with her national characteristics. The article is not entirely pessimistic, however, for Professor Steinhausen believed that eventual recognition of Germany's Kultur and its value for other nations would result in a more cordial feeling among foreigners toward the German people. His statement of the case is all the more interesting because it is predicated upon Germany's political innocence, of which he entertained, or at least expressed, no doubt. This assumption of a guileless and universally well-meaning Germany adds a peculiar irony in 1919 to some of the passages which are given below. Professor Steinhausen's in-

troduction is translated in full. The remainder of the translation, apart from the omission of much illustrative matter, follows closely the language of the original text.

GERMANY THROUGH FOREIGN EYES.

If we look around us to-day among large and small nations of the world, and inquire what they think of us Germans, the result is undoubtedly depressing. There is probably no people so little loved as we are. Even our undeniably good qualities are often only reluctantly acknowledged or simply ignored. Politically, the judgment passed upon the new German Empire is almost as unfavorable as was the case with England a little more than a century ago. At that time, England, by a shameful breach of the peace in bombarding defenceless Copenhagen, had incurred the universal wrath of the nations. Even a son of England, Lord Byron, sang of "Albion, hated and alone."

We Germans to-day have no such deed as that upon our conscience. On the contrary, German policy is the most peaceful and friendly in the world. And yet—may it not soon be said of Germany that she is "hated and alone"? If opinion of us seems a little better just now, yet only a year ago in his last poem, "German New Year, 1909," Ernst von Wildenbruch could write the bitter lines:

"From a dream of twenty years at last awaking,
We gaze about, like beggars, o'er the earth;
'Nowhere friendship?' And, the dismal silence breaking,
Comes a general cry of hate-embittered mirth."

The general political and military successes which attended the founding of the German Empire, the vast economic and technical development of the new Germany, and especially the flourishing of her commerce, have brought us respect, to be sure, but along with it, a full measure of envy and hatred. Nor does our military and naval strength, so necessary for a new-fledged world-power, cause us to be better loved. Fiercely we are attacked as disturbers of the peace, merely because we safeguard ourselves against the enemies all about who might wish to degrade us. Undeniable blunders on the part of Germany have somewhat intensified this feeling. But still—all of these motives do not fully account for the phenomenon.

To these causes must be added the not unimportant consideration that Germany's unpopularity is more or less of a fixture in the history of nations. It is especially strong to-day, but it is not of recent origin. The German has always been disliked by other peoples. The Romanic nations from earliest times have spoken of him with haughty condescension, the English have later joined them in this, and the Slavs

¹ "Die Deutschen im Urteile des Auslandes." By Prof. Dr. Georg Steinhausen, Direktor der Stadtbibliothek, Kassel, *Deutsche Rundschau*, Vol. 141, page 434, and Vol. 142, page 55. December, 1909, and January, 1910.

have disclosed a deep-seated antipathy, or often a furious hatred. Why the attitude of other countries in modern times has become much more favorable, we shall see. At any rate, we have to do with an historical phenomenon, and it will be worth while to trace it and to show whereon it is founded. . . .

The well-known tribute paid by Tacitus to the German tribes for their bravery and chastity is partly offset by his mention of repulsive characteristics, such as violence, drunkenness, and lack of discipline; and further, by his treatment of them purely as barbarians. Later Roman writers were not favorably impressed. To the smaller southern folk, the robust appearance of the Germans was forbidding, and by such writers as Paterculus and Salvianus they were accused of treachery. The epithet "Barbarian" clung to the Germans and received new emphasis after their conquest of Rome. The tradition of the Roman view of the Germans as barbarians was taken over by the Roman-Gallic peoples and others who were influenced by Roman civilization, and the prejudice has not yet died out. This explains why the Romanic peoples and their Slavic admirers are so wrought up over the view of writers like Gobineau and Chamberlain, who are enthusiastic in their praise of Germans, and who credit them with having given Europe her modern civilization. In the *Revue de Deux Mondes*, Novikov recently protested vigorously against such opinions, saying that the civilization of Europe comes from the shores of the Mediterranean, and is derived from the Egyptians, Babylonians, Greeks and others. He further says that the Germans have tended rather to destroy or hamper civilization than to promote it, and that their own culture comes from the Mediterranean peoples. Such statements are not wholly incorrect. Only the Germans have also had sources of culture of their own, whose worth was hidden from the Romans, and even yet is not fully appreciated.

The great influence which the Germans have exerted on civilization, however, is comparatively recent, beginning in the second half of the eighteenth century. From this time on there are testimonials to the importance of German thought. Mirabeau, for example, speaks of "cette constance, cette application, cette assiduité patiente, vrai type du caractère allemand" and commends German scientists for their thoroughness. Madame de Staël's book on Germany did much to awaken foreign appreciation of German culture. The French romanticists, including particularly Gerard de Nerval, were profoundly influenced by German literature. German philosophers were equally influential. In England there was no lack of writers who acknowledged indebtedness to Germany. Bulwer in 1837 dedicated one of his novels to "the Great German people, a race of thinkers and of critics." The true apostle of the German spirit in England was, of course, Thomas Carlyle. An enthusiastic admirer of Goethe, he was the interpreter of the "German spirit" to his countrymen. He also pointed out the importance of Germany's political history, the significance of Frederick

the Great, and the historic role of the Prussian nation. At any rate, during the nineteenth century, the English who otherwise cared little for the Germans came to recognize their extraordinary intellectual activity. Although the ardor of French enthusiasts for German literature had cooled somewhat by the close of the thirties, occasional expressions of appreciation came from France. Significant is the founding of the "*Revue germanique*" in 1858, and Renan's introduction to the first number, in which he cited the superiority of the Germans in philology and history. That the adverse opinion was still held, however, is shown by George Sand's deploring the Germanism of Renan, Littré and Sainte-Beuve as a weakness, and her assertion that the Germans are "too stupid to believe in anything but materialism." About this time the Russians, though admirers and imitators of French culture, began to pay some attention to the German. Americans, too, began to study in German universities and to profit more than the English from German science.

The Emperor Napoleon III saw more clearly than many of his countrymen, and spoke of the Germans as "the race of the future." With the war of 1870 the ancient Roman prejudice against the Germans as northern barbarians was renewed with greater intensity than ever. As Sarcey says, "They were called Huns and Vandals, and all the insulting allusions of history were heaped on their heads." Many Frenchmen admitted that in reality they knew a very different German people, but they did not dare to say it too loud. Moreover, the lasting antipathy of other nations found strong expression in 1870, as did their persistent admiration for France. In England it was Thomas Carlyle again, who in a letter to the *Times* set forth the historic claim of Germany to Alsace-Lorraine, and thus created a more favorable opinion of Germany.

In France, after the war of 1870, it was dangerous to express sympathy with Germany, and under the influence of the "revanche" policy there sprang up a bitter hatred nourished by France's wounded pride. All the good traits in the Germans which had been formerly acknowledged were now denied. To quote Süßlé: "The German was considered in science a pedant, in art a bungler, and his modes and customs were systematically ridiculed or scorned." The academicians joined in the movement, and even Michelet, Renan, and especially Victor Hugo, turned away from Germany and from the German spirit.

The wars of 1866 and 1870, however, had revealed the German "dreamer" in a new light, and the disillusionment of France and other countries was destined to grow with the passing of time. Long known for her intellectual and political greatness, Germany now assumed a commanding position in economic affairs. The astonishment of foreigners thereat is well shown in a recent volume by Henri Lichtenberger entitled, "*L'Allemagne moderne*." After noting that in a Germany of disunited, half-ruined provinces there sprang up a literary and philosophic culture which is the nation's best claim

to distinction, he goes on to say: "And now all at once there is developed in this backward people apparently devoted to fantasies and chimeras, the spirit of achievement. It now appears that of all the western peoples the Germans are best fitted to succeed in the economic struggle. It is evident that this somewhat heavy and slow but strong and healthy nation forms a most favorable soil for the development of a capitalistic civilization. Earnest and strong, a patient, methodical and conscientious workman, the German has long been accustomed to rigid moral and military discipline, and once he has undertaken anything, he pursues it tirelessly to the end."

At any rate, the new development of Germany has fundamentally changed the judgment of other countries. If Germany's surprising prosperity in the last generation has not made her more popular, it has at least made her more respected and admired than ever before. Germany has become the teacher and the model of other countries, not only in science, but also in military and economic organization, in government, and in labor legislation. Even France, who at first after the war studied only Germany's military establishment, in order to conquer, has lately taken an interest in German economic and educational systems. There have actually been complaints recently of a "Teutomanie."

Notwithstanding the modern Frenchman's respect for Germany, the old notion of "German barbarism" still persists. Prussian militarism is condemned as barbaric, although the military spirit has been a traditional excellence of the French nation. Particularly severe are such writers as Paul Deroulède, who, although he praises Prussian activity, clearness, and order, says: "This now brutal, now crafty Prussianism is not a metamorphosis; it is an atavism; it dates from Herman of the Cherusci." Over and over again the tradition of a superior Roman civilization crops up, to Germany's disadvantage. The views of many Frenchmen regarding the Prussians are excellently presented by Maurice Barrès in his "In German Military Service." The Prussians are here represented as a monstrous, stiff, unpolished, mechanically obedient, narrowly egoistic, and oppressive race, who although they triumphantly dominate modern Germany and set the pattern for the whole nation, are recruited from peasants newly set free. "Their universal beer," he says, "simply lulls their brutal souls to sleep without essentially changing a nature that lacks inherited courtesy or culture." The francophile Dane, George Brandes, expresses somewhat the same idea of a traditional superiority among the cultural descendants of the Roman civilization, when he contrasts the soft-spoken, courteous French with the rude northern peoples. Here he is in conflict with Jules Huret, who although mentioning the "coarse incivility of German officials," emphasizes the simple friendliness of the German people. When the other peoples assume a cultural superiority, it is chiefly a social refinement that they have in mind, in contrast to which they place the gravity and bluntness of the Germans.

Another reason for persistent prejudice against Germany, not only in France, but also in other countries which pride themselves on their "freedom," is that Germany is considered feudal and medieval. Novikov holds this view, as also does the Italian historian Ferrero, who in his "L'Europa Giovane" represents Bismarck as a "barbarous genius," whose policy was suited to no race except the Huns. There are, to be sure, Bismarck enthusiasts in Italy, such as Pietro, Chimienti. What seems to trouble many educated non-Germans is the contradiction between the universally praised German individualism and the alleged vassalage of the German people in their obedience to discipline and their acceptance of a caste system. As a matter of fact, it is not despotism, as Novikov holds, but a defiant and often uncontrolled desire for freedom that characterizes the Germans. Guizot in his time said that the idea of personal liberty was derived from the Germans, and that unified centralization and schematic regularity are of Roman origin. Madame de Staël said: "The spirit of the Germans and their character seem to have no fellowship with one another. The one cannot bear restraint, the other subjects itself to every sort of bondage." Lichtenberger emphasizes the German tendency toward specialization, in which one surrenders a certain amount of individuality in order to devote oneself entirely to a small but carefully cultivated field. Although many critics recognize the individualism of the Germans—for example, their independence of thought in religious matters—yet what most impresses the foreigner to-day is the German's love of order and discipline, and his respect for authority. Some condemn these characteristics as "herd qualities," while others envy the Germans for them.

Thus the judgment of Germany by outsiders is very contradictory. For some, the Germans, notwithstanding their noteworthy achievements in the realms of thought and action, are still a backward people. These critics consider modern Germany an anachronism—militaristic, feudal, imperialistic and severely realistic, devoted to power and wealth and haughtily looking down upon every democratic or humanitarian ideology. Incidentally, the fact is that to-day one cannot speak of German idealism to any great extent. A spirit, indeed, prevails which emphasizes externals, and in its pride of wealth assumes superiority over true learning. Foreigners, however, are most disturbed by the feudal-military spirit which is said to possess the Germans. The unpopularity of Germany caused by this impression is heightened, of course, by the social shortcomings of the money-worshipping class described above. To these causes must be added jealousy and envy of Germany's extraordinary growth in recent years. In this connection one naturally thinks of England, which despite Carlyle's enthusiasm, took little notice of us until a growing rivalry in commerce and politics created a mutual dislike which is still strong. The benevolent view of the German nation in Whitman's "Imperial Germany" cannot be regarded as typical.

Other nations there are that admire Germany and

look upon her as a model in many, if not in all, respects. The Russians, although affected by a more or less fanatical race-prejudice, owe much of their culture to Germany, and cannot deny it. In the field of economics and science they are our pupils. This is also true of the Balkan states, particularly Roumania, from whom we receive abundant expressions of gratitude. Notwithstanding intrigues and antipathies, German Kultur has won many friends in Italy. The Belgian Maeterlinck is reported to have said at a banquet in Berlin: "Germany is the moral conscience of the world." For the blessing which the German nation has brought into the new world, Professor Learned has thus expressed grateful acknowledgment: "The history of civilization teaches us that for centuries German language, German science, German education, German literature and art have influenced America in the same way that Greece influenced the civilized countries of the old world." In Brazil and the Argentine Republic there are apostles of German Kultur; and how the Japanese imitate us, though thinking only of their own profit, is well known.

We Germans, then, must not regard our unpopularity as tragic. Politically, it is dangerous for us to-day, but against this danger our power protects us. The recognition of our achievements in the realms of thought and of economics offsets any adverse opinion arising from other sources. In our social culture, however, we still frequently impress foreigners, as being either comic or disagreeable. It is here that we must improve. Not, indeed, by imitating other countries, as we have for centuries the French and the English, but by cultivating and developing the noble side of our own nature.

Professor Steinhausen's review of the historical development of foreign opinion concerning Germany, for all its consolation in Germany's economic and military prestige and its reassurance as to the future,

sounds a note of misgiving. Was it despair of ever being able to overcome the historic anti-German prejudice, of which they seem to have been more keenly aware than outsiders, that led the Germans deliberately to disregard the world's opinion? Or had they never made a serious effort to meet other nations half way, and were they only waiting until they should be strong enough to defy outside opinion with impunity? One is reminded of the reported warning of Frenssen, the novelist, that only *if the Germans won* could they afford to be called "Huns." Did they weigh the consequences of a moral defeat? Will even a colossal military disaster and a humiliating naval surrender enable them to comprehend the utter futility of a policy of isolation and self-sufficiency? Are they capable of the sincere repentance which must precede a genuine reform? And, granting them the best of intentions for the future, how long will it take them to live down the age-old traditions of barbarism, revived and outdone by the systematic savagery of their war measures, and advertised to the remotest parts of the earth? The Franco-Prussian war and the "German peace" which followed attracted comparatively little attention outside of France and Germany. If the wounds left by the brief conflict of 1870 were still unhealed after nearly half a century, what can be expected after a prolonged and bitter struggle like the present one, with more than a score of nations opposed to Germany, and with even the so-called neutral countries shocked by her barbarous conduct? Can the Prussian influence in Germany be suppressed or extirpated? How far will the supplanting of the late autocratic regime by a thoroughly democratic government shorten the period of Germany's probation? These are some of the perplexing questions which Professor Steinhausen or his continuator will be obliged to answer when a new chapter is added to the history of Germany's moral place in the sun.

Some New Evidence on the Origin of the Stars and Stripes

BY GEORGE E. HASTINGS, FARIBAULT, MINN.

In these days when the American flag floats from the mastheads of thousands of ships and is borne by our victorious armies on the battlefields of Europe, our national emblem has taken a significance hitherto unknown, because it has become a symbol of liberty to all mankind. At such a time any information which throws light on the origin and history of this famous banner is of unusual interest and importance; such a bit of information it is the purpose of this article to give.

It is generally known among students of American history that the Stars and Stripes became the official flag of the United States on June 14, 1777, when Congress passed the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the flag of the United States be thirteen stripes alternate red and white; and that the

union be thirteen stars in a blue field, representing a new constellation."

The probability that the Navy would be the first branch of the service to require a new emblem, after the Declaration of Independence, has been observed; and the fact that the flag resolution is preceded and followed in the *Journals of Congress* by resolutions manifestly originating from the Marine Committee has been cited as evidence that our flag was designed by some one connected with that department of government.¹ The identity of the individual designer, however, was never guessed until last year, when evi-

¹ See "The Story of the American Flag," by Lieutenant Commander McCandless, in the *National Geographic Magazine* for October, 1917.

dence came to light which indicates that the honor belongs to Francis Hopkinson.

Francis Hopkinson, a native of Philadelphia and a prominent figure in the history of both Pennsylvania and New Jersey, was one of the most interesting characters of the Revolutionary period. Besides being an able jurist and a practical man of affairs, he was a musician, a writer, an inventor, and an artist, and in the latter capacity might well have designed the new banner; moreover, there is very definite evidence that he did so. He was elected a delegate to the Second Continental Congress in June, 1776, and in November of that same year was appointed chairman of a committee of three "to execute the business of the Navy under the direction of the Marine Committee."² This position he held till August, 1778; hence, he was connected with the Marine Committee at the time when the flag resolution which appears to have originated in that committee was introduced in Congress. He had been interested in heraldry from his youth,³ and was considered an authority on the subject, for in 1770 he had been appointed on a committee to prepare a seal for the American Philosophical Society,⁴ and had helped to design the Great Seal of New Jersey in 1776.⁵

All this, of course, is circumstantial evidence; more direct testimony is to be found in the following letter written by Hopkinson to Congress through the Board of the Treasury on May 25, 1780.

"GENTLEMEN:

"It is with great pleasure that I understand that my last Device of a Seal for the Board of Admiralty has met with your Honours' approbation. I have with great readiness upon several occasions exerted my small abilities in this way for the Public Service; & as I flatter myself to the satisfaction of those I wished to please, viz:

"The flag of the United States of America

"7 Devices for the Continental Currency

"A Seal for the Board of Treasury

"Ornaments, Devices, Checks for the new Bills of Exchange in Spain & Holland.

"A Seal for the Ship Papers of the United States

"A Seal for the Board of Admiralty

"The Borders, Ornaments, and Checks for the New Continental Currency now in the Press, a work of considerable Length.

"A Great Seal for the United States of America, with a Reverse.

² *Journals of the Continental Congress* for November 18, 1776.

³ In a Journal kept by Hopkinson during a visit to England in 1766-7 he made a careful copy of the coat-of-arms of his family. A part of this Journal was published in the *Newark Rose Bud*, November 7, 1840. A file of this publication is owned by the New Jersey Historical Society.

⁴ *Early Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, entry for October 19, 1770.

⁵ See Eugene Zieber's "Heraldry in America," pp. 159-160.

"For these Services I have as yet made no charge nor received any Recompense. I now submit it to your Honours' Consideration whether a Quarter Cask of the Public Wine will not be a proper & a reasonable Reward for these Labours of Fancy and a suitable Encouragement to future Exertions of a like nature.

"I sincerely hope your Honours will be of this opinion & am with great Respect,

"Gentlemen,

"Your very humble servant,

"FRAS. HOPKINSON."⁶

By June 6, 1780, he had come to value his services more highly, and on that date submitted the following bill to Congress:

"Dr. The United States of America to Francis Hopkinson.

"To Sundry Devices Drawings, Mottos, &C for the public use viz:

"The Great Naval Flag of the United States.⁷

"Seven Devices with Mottos for former Emissions of the Continental Currency.

"The Seal of the Board of Admiralty.

"A Seal for the Shipping Papers of the United States.

"Seal of the Board of the Treasury.

"Ornaments, Borders and Checks for the Loan Office, Certificates.

"Ditto for the Bills of Exchange on Spain & Holland.

"Ditto for the Continental Currency now in the Press.

"The Great Seal of the United States with a Reverse.

"Devices & Ornaments for the Commissions in the Navy of the United States now in Hand and not completed.

"Philad^a, June 6, 1780 \$2700.00"⁸

This bill was approved by the Chamber of Accounts on June 12, and endorsed by the Auditor General on June 15, but is marked on the back "Not passed"; the reasons for this will appear later.

On June 24, Hopkinson presented two itemized bills. The first is as follows:

"Dr. The United States to Francis Hopkinson To Sundry Drawings & Devices viz:

The Naval Flag of the United States.	£9	0	0
Designs with Mottos for currency	7	0	0
Seal of the Board of Treasury	3	0	0
Do. of the Board of Admiralty	3	0	0
Do. for Shipping Papers	3	0	0
Devices & Checks for Certificates	2	0	0

⁶ Library of Congress, "Reports of the Board of Treasury," No. 136, vol. iv, folio 685.

⁷ This is the name given the flag in all the bills except the first—a further indication that the Stars and Stripes originated in the Navy.

⁸ Library of Congress, "Reports of the Board of Treasury," No. 136, vol. iv, folio 671.

Do. for Bills for Exch ^o	3	0	0
Do. for New Currency in the Press ...	5	0	0
The Great Seal of the United States with a Reverse	10	0	0
	—	—	—
	£45	0	0

£45 in hard money at

60 for One is\$2700."⁹

On the same day he wrote a letter withdrawing this bill and submitting the following:

"Dr. The United States to Francis Hopkinson To Sundry Drawings & Devices viz—			
The Naval Flag of the States...	£540	0	0
7 Devices for the Currency	420	0	0
Seal of the Board of Treasury .	180	0	0
Ditto Board of Admiralty	180	0	0
Ditto for Shipping Papers	180	0	0
Checks & Devices for Certifi- cates	120	0	0
Ditto for Bills of Exchange ...	180	0	0
Ditto for the New Currency now in the Press	300	0	0
The Great Seal of the States with a Reverse	600	0	0

The Commissioners of Accounts, to whom the bill was finally referred, on August 7 reported:

"They have revised and examined the account of Francis Hopkinson and find there is due to him for his Services as p. account and their report of the 12th and 29th June¹¹ the sum of seven thousand Two hundred Dollars."¹²

This report was submitted to the Auditor General, who reported:

"I do certify to the Commissioners of the Board of Treasury that I have examined the nature of the account of Francis Hopkinson Esq. mentioned in the within report of the Commissioners of the Chamber of Accounts dated this day and have passed the same and present it for allowance."¹³

Finally, on October 27, 1780, the Board of the Treasury submitted to Congress a report, giving a history of the case, and stating that they rejected the bill because it was not accompanied by vouchers as required by law. They stated, moreover, that they should have refused to grant it even if vouchers had been produced:

"1st. Because it is within the knowledge of one of the Members of the Board, that with respect to the charges of the works incidental to the Treasury the said Francis Hopkinson was not the only person con-

sulted on those exhibitions of Fancy, and therefore cannot claim the sole merit of them, and is not entitled in this respect to the full sum charged.

"2nd. Because the Board are of opinion the public is entitled to those little assistances given by Gentlemen who enjoy a very considerable salary under Congress without Fees or further reward; and lastly because it appears to the Board by a relation of a conversation that passed between the said Treasurer of Loans and one of the Members of the Board just after the said Treasurer had wrote to the Admiralty letter No. 1, that he viewed the Success of his application for the wine as very uncertain, and considered in the light of a compliment due him for these works of Fancy."¹⁴

After this nothing more is heard of the matter until August 23, 1781, when it was resolved in Congress

"That the report relative to the fancy work of F. Hopkinson ought not to be acted on."¹⁵

It would seem rather remarkable that these bills which were approved by the Commissioners of Accounts and the Auditor General should be rejected by the Board of Treasury. The reason for this, however, is easily discovered. At the same time that Hopkinson was chairman of the Navy Board he was also Treasurer of Loans, acting under the Board of Treasury and at this very time he was engaged in a bitter controversy with this Board, which finally led to his resignation from the latter office.¹⁶ It is therefore not surprising that the hostile Board of Treasury should deny his petition, but it should be observed that even they did not deny that Hopkinson had a considerable part in designing these various emblems.

These facts were collected by the author of this article during the summer of 1917, while engaged in gathering material for a "Life of Francis Hopkinson." Not feeling himself qualified to judge the merits of the evidence, he submitted his data to Lieutenant Commander McCandless, U. S. N., who was at that time preparing his "Story of the American Flag," which appeared in the *National Geographic Magazine* in October, 1917; and on August 17 the latter replied as follows:

"MY DEAR MR. HASTINGS:

"Thanks very much for the information about Francis Hopkinson. Today I went down to the Library of Congress and read the letters about the \$7200 at 60 to 1 and I am very much of the belief that Hopkinson had a hand in the design of the Star device for the canton of the flag of June 14, 1777.

⁹ Library of Congress, "Reports of the Board of Treasury," No. 136, vol. iv, folio 673.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, folios 674 and 681.

¹¹ Library of Congress, "Reports of the Board of Treasury," No. 136, vol. iv, folios 675, 677.

¹² The ratio of pounds to dollars was 3: 8.

¹³ Library of Congress, "Reports of the Board of Treasury," No. 136, vol. iv, folios 683.

¹⁴ *Journals of the Continental Congress*, vol. xviii, pp. 983-984.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. xxi, p. 899.

¹⁶ An account of Hopkinson's quarrel with the Board of Treasury may be pieced out from letters owned by Edward Hopkinson, Esq., of Philadelphia, and from the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, "Reports of Committees," Nos. 19 and 78, in the Library of Congress.

From the Journals of the Continental Congress Monday, Nov. 18, 1776, we see 'The Marine Committee having recommended Francis Hopkinson, Esqr., as a fit person to execute the business of the Navy under their direction, Resolved, That he be accepted.' The naval design had been the stripes alternate red and white with the union of the Crosses of St. George and St. Andrew. After the Declaration of Independence it seemed desirable to substitute another device for the crosses. Undoubtedly the artistic abilities of Hopkinson came into play, and as a result the resolution of June 14, 1777, was introduced by the Marine Committee. The navy design had the stars arranged in horizontal rows of 3, 2, 3, 2, 3 outlining the crosses which they replaced. I had already reached the conclusion that the stars and stripes originated with the Navy and that the Resolution had come from the Marine Committee, and your valuable

information arrived just in time to complete my belief.

"With best wishes and many Thanks,

"I am, very Sincerely yours,

"BYRON McCANDLESS,

"Lieutenant Commander, United States Navy."

Lieutenant Commander McCandless's article had already gone to press, and he was therefore unable to investigate Hopkinson's claims very thoroughly. He did, however, publish a brief summary of the evidence which he characterized as "more authentic" than other individual claims mentioned in his history. The author of this article realizes that the evidence here submitted does not amount to absolute proof, but he believes that it establishes a strong probability that Francis Hopkinson was the individual designer of the American flag. For this reason he submits the data to historical scholars in hopes that it will stimulate further investigation of this interesting and important problem.

What France Has Done in the War

PREPARED BY THE INFORMATION BUREAU OF THE FRENCH HIGH COMMISSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., 1919

It is customary, in speaking of France, to praise the valor of her soldiers. Their heroism was a part of French tradition; it has surprised no one. The surprise began when the world saw France not merely fighting with her old-time "fury," but organizing her warfare and making ready for a long struggle.

The part played by France in the war has been, above all, to cover the preparations of her Allies. By virtue of her geographical situation and of historical conditions, she was the first of the Allies to be prepared, the "chief enemy," as the Kaiser said. To her, throughout the war, fell the task of gaining time while the new armies of the Allies were being assembled, at first in Great Britain, then in America. The rôle of France was therefore to *hold*, until the arrival of the divisions sent by Kitchener and the divisions led by Pershing.

As the war progressed, the feats of valor, of which even our enemies were willing to esteem us capable, were no longer sufficient. There developed the need of virtues not commonly regarded as French: patience, perseverance, work, unity. What was the opinion of France commonly held in 1914? That the race was wearied; the industries behind the times; the nation hopelessly divided by political dissensions. This was the opinion held by our enemies, perhaps by some of our friends as well.

Since then the facts have spoken for themselves.

I.—FRANCE IN ARMS.

Let the reader picture to himself the march of the mass of the German troops in 1914 through devastated Belgium, then, after the first battle, the advance on French soil. It is not only a vast army, 1,500,000 men, but the most colossal assemblage of the machin-

ery of death that half a century of industrial effort, at a cost of billions of dollars, could create: 4,000 field cannon, 450 heavy batteries, 700 heavy howitzers, not to speak of machine-guns, of armored cars mounted with machine-guns and with cannon, of Zeppelins and airplanes. With this mighty instrument it is planned to subjugate the world. "Paris to-morrow!" the German officers cry, as they pass through a village on the Meuse. Paris taken means France overpowered before Russia and England can enter the conflict; it means Europe dominated by terror and the world under German hegemony.

It was then that between the 6th and 12th of September the French army, aided by the six divisions of the British army, made its stand at the Marne and hurled back the German armies of invasion.

The Marne.—After the battle of Charleroi (August 23), General Joffre faced these alternatives; he might continue stubbornly a battle accepted under unfavorable conditions, without strategic initiative, at a distance from his reserves—or refusing battle, he might remove the mass of the French armies to a new position at which the reserves of all France could be concentrated, and during this retreat, which would prevent his being enveloped, form a new army at his left by transporting troops from the east to the region of Paris, and attempt in his turn to recover the strategic initiative and to envelop his adversary.

Joffre's course of action was as follows: he ordered a retreat, a retreat which was disastrous because it yielded to the enemy French territory, mines, and factories, but which was indispensable because it gave us time and space and because it deceived the Germans. Von Kluck pursued, engaged battle, and instead of covering his right flank, risked a movement

to the northeast of Paris without discovering the danger that menaced him. Joffre profited by this mistake to hurl the army of Maunoury against the German right flank at the same time that he ordered the renewal of the offensive on the morning of the 6th. On the 12th, after six days of desperate combat on the entire front, the enemy, exhausted and fearing an irreparable disaster, abandoned the conflict, retreated from the field, and entrenched on the line of the Aisne.

Flanders.—But Germany was not conquered. She was to renew her attacks and repeat her blows. While the French commander-in-chief was seeking to envelop the German right wing, the enemy was extending that wing and was soon to reinforce it with an entire army organized in Germany. In this "race to the sea," in which the French commander had the initiative, but the enemy soon had the advantage in numbers, Foch, charged with "co-ordinating the operations of the Allies," revealed himself as a veritable leader of composite forces. Here he was opposed to the Kaiser himself, commanding in person. William II had not succeeded in making a triumphal entry either into Paris or into Nancy; he now dreamed of entering Ypres and there proclaiming the annexation of Belgium and of seizing the maritime bases of Flanders. It was his express desire, he said, that his troops should be in Ypres on November 1st.

The battle was begun on October 23 and continued until November 11. The German offensive was launched with considerable forces from southeast of Ypres to the sea. The British divisions of General Sir Douglas Haig, with French territorial divisions and cavalry, opposed a splendid resistance. Foch reinforced them successively with five French army corps. Finally the offensive of the Yser was broken. In two months the French army had twice arrested the progress of the German army.

1915.—Then began the long period of waiting in the trenches that were dug from Nieuport to Altkirch. The French army mounted guard, while Kitchener in silence prepared his armies. Then, since in this year, Germany was directing her principal effort against Russia, the French army, acting in concert with the English army, took the offensive on May 9 in Artois, on September 25 in Artois and in Champagne, to force the common enemy to diminish his pressure toward the east and to recall his divisions to the western front. It was a year of waiting, of organization, of preparation.

1916, Verdun.—Disquieted by the formation of Kitchener's army, Germany decided to direct her effort once more against the west. Her project at the beginning of 1916 was to annihilate or to exhaust the French army in single combat before the new English armies were ready to bring aid. The German offensive began before Verdun on February 25, 1916, and lasted till July. Never before had Germany concentrated at one point so much material and so many men — a colossal but vain effort, frustrated by the energy of Generals Pétain, Nivelle, and Mangin, and by the resolution of the sixty-two divisions which in

turn came to defend the fortress between February and July.

Lloyd George, the British Prime Minister, could say later, in the citadel of Verdun: "The memory of the victorious resistance of Verdun will be immortal, for Verdun has saved not only France but the whole of the great cause which is common to ourselves and humanity . . .

"I am deeply moved when I tread this sacred soil, and I do not speak for myself alone. I bring you a tribute of the admiration of my country, of the great Empire which I represent here. They bow with me before your sacrifice and before your glory. Once again, for the defense of the great cause with which its very future is bound up, mankind turns to France."

The immediate result of this sacrifice was to make possible the battle of the Somme.

The Somme.—The new British armies, in concert with the French army, attacked in July, 1916. It is now known that this offensive brought Germany to the verge of ruin and that the German General Staff later admitted its material and moral inferiority in the course of the battle. Moreover, it was immediately after our victorious offensive on the Somme that the so-called Hindenburg line was constructed and that the Germans decided to retreat to that line rather than accept another battle as costly as the one just concluded at the beginning of the winter of 1916-17.

1917.—At the beginning of the year 1917 the Anglo-French armies were in the fulness of their power. Unfortunately, owing to the lack of unity of command, several battles were fought instead of one single battle. Each was glorious, but none brought a decisive result. The battle of the Aisne, the English offensive at Vimy and at La Bassée, the local offensive at Verdun, the battle of attrition at Ypres, in which the French army collaborated the offensive at La Malmaison on October 23, the stabilization of the Italian front after the disaster of Caporetto—all these efforts were lacking in harmony, for want of unified command. It must be added that they encountered stronger and stronger German resistance, the internal situation in Russia enabling Germany to transfer a constant succession of new divisions to the western front.

1918.—Thus in 1918 the German General Staff had at its disposal 195 divisions on the western front and was soon to have as many as 205. It sought a quick decision: to separate the British and French armies, to threaten Paris, and to destroy the British army.

On March 21 a mass of sixty-four divisions attacked the British army, which had but nineteen divisions in line and thirteen in reserve. The fifth British army was compelled to give ground, involving the third in its retreat. Noyon was lost, Paris uncovered. On the evening of the 26th the separation of the British and the French was all but accomplished.

Confronted by this grave situation, the allied Governments, recognizing the inefficiency of understandings between independent commanders-in-chief, decided to entrust to General Foch the supreme com-

mand of the Allied forces in France. In less than a week General Foch re-established and thenceforward maintained the liaison between the British and French armies, and arrested the enemy's offensive in Picardy before it had reached its first strategic objective, Amiens.

On March 27 General Pershing chivalrously placed his troops at the disposal of General Foch. One division was sent into battle; the others took up positions in defensive sectors, replacing French divisions.

Held in Picardy, the enemy immediately attempted to break the British front further north, at first in the Portuguese sector, then to the south of Ypres, this time aiming directly at the maritime bases. He was successfully resisted and finally checked by British reinforcements and by a French army transported to Flanders. By April, the front was again stabilized.

But owing to the depletion of the British effectives and to the lengthening of the French front by sixty miles, the numerical superiority remained with the 205 German divisions, a superiority which the American reinforcements had not yet overcome, for despite the effective working of the transport service, only the four divisions of the first American army corps were immediately available. Accordingly, on May 27, by a violent surprise attack, the enemy reached Château Thierry. The arrival of American reserves enabled Foch on June 2 to arrest this attack between the Aisne and the Marne, and on June 9 to prevent an attempt to pierce the line north of Compiègne.

By June 15 the new front was stabilized. But the Germans were in possession of a good base for further attacks, only fifty miles from Paris. The Allied losses were serious. To compensate for these, Pershing arranged with Foch to place a certain number of American divisions provisionally at the disposal of the French army, and began the organization of a first American army, speeding up the training of the troops. The Allied command grouped its reserves behind the Marne and Champagne front, where the indications were that a new attack was being planned for an early date, and prepared a counter-offensive on a front of twenty-five miles from the Aisne to Belleau Wood.

On July 15 the expected attack was launched. It encountered stubborn resistance on the part of General Gouraud's army, and was consequently unable to profit by its slight advance south of the Marne. On the 18th Generals Mangin and Degoutte, aided by the gallant American divisions, resumed the offensive. That date, July 18, was the starting-point of the general Allied offensive, which did not cease until it had gained the victory.

In the Near East.—In addition to the prolonged effort of France on the western front, it is necessary to recall the French effort in the Near East. Besides her co-operation at the Dardanelles and in Palestine, besides the war material—rifles, cannon, ammunition—sent in great quantity to Russia and to Roumania, France sent an army of 200,000 men to Salonica and

maintained them there. No measure could have been more burdensome, but none was more far-sighted or more efficacious. Despite the risks of navigation in the Mediterranean, reinforcements were constantly sent to make good the losses caused by warfare and by disease. Further, France collected the Serbian army at Corfu after its retreat from Serbia, saved it from typhus, reorganized it, equipped it, and transported it, 120,000 strong, to Salonica in 1916. The defection of Bulgaria was the direct result of the Salonica expedition, and we know the consequences of that defection in Turkey, in Hungary, in Austria, and in Germany.

The French Navy During the War.—At the beginning of August, 1914, nearly all the French naval units were concentrated in the Mediterranean Sea, while the British fleet was to guard the North Sea, the Channel, and the Atlantic Ocean. After assuring the transportation of many African troops, which proved to be an efficient reinforcement in the first battles of the war, the French Fleet, twenty dreadnoughts and ten cruisers strong, bombarded the Dalmatian coast (August 16, 1914), shelled the Cattaro moorings (October 18, 1914), and blockaded the Straits of Otranto. Then, in 1915, the concentration at Corfu and the transportation to Salonica in 1916 of the Serbian Army, after its retreat from Serbia, was due to the French Navy.

After contributing to the expedition in the Dardanelles, and the shipment of Anglo-French troops from Gallipoli to Salonica, the French Navy turned to the less glorious, but no less useful task of protecting against hostile submarines the transportation of troops and supplies.

Meanwhile, it kept the Syrian harbors closed to the Germans, and later on convoyed the French contingents to Palestine.

The naval demonstrations on the Greek coasts (bombardment of Cavalla, August, 1916; blockade of the Greek coasts and moorings at Salamis, September, 1916), finally enabled Mr. Jonnart, High Commissioner of the Entente, to bring about the abdication of Constantine, and to re-establish in Greece—with Venizelos—a government free from any German influence.

The French Navy was able, besides, to send to the front the naval fusiliers, who fought for two days and nights to cover the retreat of the Belgian army from Antwerp to the Yser, and then held up the Germans at Dixmude for twenty-six days. Two thousand naval gunners and thirty thousand sailors were distributed among different units, and their gallantry made all those detachments (and more particularly the fusiliers) as renowned in France as the Marines are in the United States.

Finally, France took an important part in the methodical struggle against the German submarines; the merchant marine was carefully convoyed by warships and airplanes; trawlers armed with cannon were engaged in the daily pursuit of U-boats. This silent, endless task may be compared to the long guard the Allied armies had to mount during the years

of trench warfare—a life of continuous risk without battles or glory; but the accomplishment of that thankless duty contributed to secure the supremacy of the seas, which finally brought about victory.

II.—THE ORGANIZATION OF THE FRENCH EFFORT.

Mobilization.—It will be understood that to support so great an effort upon the several fronts, France found it necessary to mobilize all her available classes. Since August, 1914, 7,500,000 Frenchmen have been called to the colors, one-fifth of the total population of the country. The like proportion would give the United States an army of 21,000,000 men. The losses have been heavy. Up to November 1, 1918, France had 1,327,800 killed in action, dead of wounds, or missing; nearly 700,000 crippled and pensioned, out of 3,000,000 wounded. In spite of these losses there were 3,000,000 French soldiers on the various fronts and 113 divisions in France on November 11, 1918. It is not diminishing the part played by the British or the Americans or the Italians—the services rendered by each of these have been in many ways valuable, *indispensable*—to conclude that the French army has constantly been the pivot of all the strategic combinations on the western front.

The Industrial Effort.—So formidable a military and naval effort requires for its support a corresponding industrial effort behind the firing line. The mobilization had taken from the factories the greater part of their youngest and most active workmen; the invasion had deprived the country not only of the mining district of Briey but of the rich industrial and mining region of the North. Yet France, though mutilated, was capable of organizing the labor of her industries in the measure revealed by the following figures:

Munitions and Artillery Material.—For every 100 rifles she made at the beginning of 1914, France made in 1918 29,000; for every 100 machine-guns, 7,000. She has been able to furnish to her Allies 1,350,000 rifles; 15,000 automatic rifles; 10,000 machine-guns; 200,000,000 cartridges, at the same time maintaining and increasing her own armament notwithstanding losses. To-day, in place of two St. Etienne machine-guns, each battalion has twelve Hotchkiss machine-guns.

In this war of armament, the production of artillery has reached unheard-of proportions. In August, 1914, the daily production of 75-millimeter shells in the French factories was 13,000; in 1918 it was 180,000. Their daily production of shells of large caliber was 100,000, and in particular 45,000 of 155 millimeters as against 200 in August, 1914. It has been necessary not only to replace the 75's lost and destroyed, but to increase the supply of this arm, and to furnish it to the Allies (especially to the American army, whose entire field artillery is at present of French manufacture). It has also been necessary to create for France a heavy artillery (France has 6,000 heavy guns, as against 300 at the beginning of the war), and to furnish heavy artillery, especially 155-millimeter cannon, to the Allies (Russia, Roumania,

the United States). In 1918 the French factories turned out each day 60 cannon of all calibers. The French army alone is provided with 17,000 cannon and 6,000 trench mortars and light field mortars (*mortiers d'accompagnement*).

Tanks (*Artillery of Assault*).—Here it has not been enough to improve and develop; it has been necessary to create. After the English had tested the first types of heavy tanks, and France had in 1917 followed their example, she turned her efforts in another direction. The light tank, highly mobile, easily concealed, armed either with a 37-millimeter gun or with a machine-gun, and carrying a crew of only two men, the "baby Renault," is a French conception. It has proved its worth on the battlefields of 1918 and has been one of the most valuable arms in the decisive combats. To give an idea of the industrial effort involved, it is sufficient to say that in the spring of 1918 the production of light tanks had reached an average of 150 to 160 a month.

Aviation.—The aviation service also had to be created. Compare with the 100 or more airplanes of touring type which the French army had in August, 1914, the 4,000 war airplanes, equipped with all modern apparatus and powerfully armed, which France now has in service. The present planes have a speed of 150 miles an hour and can climb to 20,000 feet in 18 minutes. The giant bombing planes, furnished with 2, 3, or 4 motors of 450 horsepower each, carry a load of two tons, and can fly for six hours at 110 miles an hour; these are the planes which have bombed German cities in reprisal for the German raids on Paris and other French cities. France manufactured 7,000 motors a month, many of which were furnished to her Allies. The manufacture of planes has been developed to a still higher output.

A Few Figures.—A few statistics will enable the reader to form an estimate of the industrial effort of France. In 1914, France's daily production of steel, with all her blast furnaces operating, was only 13,500 tons, while that of Germany was 42,500. Moreover, the retreat of August, 1914, left in the enemy's possession mines and factories, three-fourths of the French resources in iron and coal, four-fifths of the French resources in cast iron, steel, and coke. Schroeder, the President of the German Metallurgical Association, announced in January, 1915: "Out of 127 blast furnaces in France, hardly 30 are producing cast iron; 95 are in the war zone." France set her hand to the task; new mines were developed; water-power was brought into service; new factories were established. The number of workers in her steel and iron plants, compared with the number of workers before the war, and which in August, 1914, had fallen to 33 per cent., had by July, 1917, risen to 173 per cent. Women operatives had largely replaced the men, who were standing guard in the trenches.

The Agricultural Effort.—The agricultural effort of France was equal to her industrial one. The task was difficult: the peasants formed the great mass of the army; out of 8,000,000 employed in farming in

1914, 2,555,000 were mobilized. Besides the needs of the army, the occupation of part of the territory by the enemy brought about a great decrease in stock (10,000,000 sheep instead of 16,000,000; 12,000,000 oxen instead of 14,000,000; 2,000,000 horses instead of 3,000,000; 4,000,000 swine instead of 7,000,000). Fertilizers were lacking; the output of sulphate of ammonia had fallen from 100,000 tons to 28,000; all the nitrate of soda available was used for the manufacture of powder. Therefore, 60,000 farms were abandoned in France, and the war wheat crop was less than the average pre-war crop.

A great effort was made; men were replaced by machines; 4,000 agricultural tractors are now used in France. Here, again, the French women did their bit, while their husbands, their fathers, their sons were in the trenches.

The output of superphosphates from Tunis and Algiers increased from 300,000 tons to 800,000. The abandoned farms were sold to new farmers, with the result that France, before long, will have reached in the production of cereals her pre-war figure of 90,000,000 quintals. Despite her many wounds, the soil of France retains its fertility.

The Financial Effort of France.—The Industrial and agricultural effort could not have been sustained without a corresponding financial effort. Notwithstanding the loss of the regions of the North, which paid 25 per cent. of the total amount of French taxes, the citizens of France were in 1918 paying to the State \$50 for each man, woman, and child—a total amount of \$1,651,376,000, i.e., more than twice what they paid before the war (\$765,779,816 annually). The total war taxes have given to the State since August, 1914, \$4,464,220,182.

Along with this taxation, the three war loans of 1915, 1916, 1917 realized \$5,882,985,780, and the fourth loan of November, 1918, amounted to \$3,944,954,128, an average of \$128 per inhabitant.

The sum of \$4,978,333,027 was obtained through short-term Treasury notes.

Allied and foreign countries loaned to France \$4,711,736,880 (the United States \$2,181,121,835; England, \$2,303,289,358).

The banks of France and Algeria advanced \$3,562,385,321. \$23,599,611,190 was thus raised, enabling France to meet all her war expenses, which have amounted to \$23,486,238,552.

French Women During the War.—These statements would be neither complete nor fair without a few remarks about the part played by the women of France during this war. In the absence of all the best of her manhood, the activity of women was one of the most wonderful achievements of France. The French women, prepared to play their social part in the struggle by the powerful feminine organizations which existed before the war, were ready everywhere to do their duty.

In education, thousands of young women took the place of schoolmasters or of high-school teachers (12,600 of them endeavored to fill the places left

vacant by 30,000 men); in the railroad administration they count more than 15,000; in the banks, in transportation (Metropolitan and Nord-Sud subways, street-cars), their work is especially successful; moreover, they work in all the Government offices, including the War Office and the barracks (150,000 in the army services and in administrative work).

Women have been members of town councils. Some of them, as Mme. Macherez, "the Mayor of Soissons," have struck the Germans with amazement by their intelligence and their firmness; others, most of them teachers in the schools, became secretaries or chief clerks to the mayors, and ruled vast townships with the same genius as their own home. The French Red Cross is entirely organized and managed by women. In 1914, there were 250,000 members, with a capital of \$6,000,000 for 600 hospitals.

Thanks to the efforts of the Secretary for Armament and the Assistant for Ammunition, women were employed in all the war industries; to protect them against all risks, to secure them good wages and good health, a Committee on Women's Work was created, whose efforts have brought into the war industries more than half a million of women.

For every two women working before the war, there were in January, 1918, 781 in iron works, 148 in chemical works, 830 in transportation, 161 in wood works, 111 in leather, 104 in rubber, paper, paste-board factories, 102 in various other trades. Altogether, in agriculture, trade, administration, war industries, more than one million and a half women were engaged in war work. Their effort deserves the admiration of the world, for their share is great in our common victory.

CONCLUSION.

The spectacle afforded by France at war and by France at work suffices to prove the vitality of the race. Who was it that spoke of "the decadence of France"? There is both good and evil in everything, and this war itself, with all its atrocities, its massacres, and its devastations, will have conferred a benefit in revealing the moral value of individuals and of peoples. To-day France recalls with emotion all the great spirits who in other lands have refused to doubt her worth, the writers and artists who in her darkest hours have proclaimed their faith in her. She thanks the American poet Whitman for having had the confidence to predict in 1871 what the victory of to-day is about to bring to pass:

"Again thy star, O France, fair, lustrous star,
In heavenly peace, clearer, more bright than ever
Shall beam immortal."

In the *Bibliothèque Universelle et Revue Suisse* for January, 1919, Virgil Rossel discusses "Problems of Democracy," giving especial attention to the differences of the problems of America and of Switzerland, and says, "In a state like ours where the susceptibilities of race and language are so lively, it would be difficult to guarantee to the ethnic minorities an equable part in representation."

What the War Should do for our History Methods

BY SAMUEL B. HARDING, NATIONAL BOARD FOR HISTORICAL SERVICE, WASHINGTON.

Even before the war there was a considerable amount of dissatisfaction with the history teaching in our schools. It was alleged with some show of reason that history as usually taught was too much engrossed with politics, war, and diplomacy, and too little occupied with the whole life of society. It was too narrowly national, and took too little account of the peoples and governments of other lands. It was too didactic, too cut and dried, and too little interested in problems and questions of evidence and proof. It was too much a mass of facts, and too little a discipline for life. Above all it was too remote and antiquarian, and lacked vital relation with the interests and needs of the present. As one Chicago teacher feelingly put it in discussing United States Library, it "took too long to get the damned country settled."

There was undoubtedly exaggeration in these charges against history teaching, and some of the critics aroused derision by their ignorance of the nature and function of the subject, as well as some of its fundamental facts. In every part of the country there were to be found live, enthusiastic, well prepared teachers of history, who were getting results which educationally were as fine as those obtained anywhere by any teachers of any subject. But undoubtedly there was a feeling that something was wrong, that things were out of joint; and this attitude manifested itself in many meetings of history teachers, as well as in other quarters, in the years immediately preceding the war.

With the beginning of the European struggle the study and teaching of history took on a new importance. The origins of the conflict were searched out, partly to account for the catastrophe, and partly in the endeavor to make clear the necessity of our participation, and "to give a reason for the faith that was in them" to the lads who were called upon to don khaki. The war issues course of the S. A. T. C., and similar courses in high schools and common schools, increased alike the interest in history and directed new attention to the problems of its teaching. Incidentally there was revealed the disturbing fact that over 10 per cent. of the men called to the training camps were ignorant of the English language and presumably equally ignorant of the ideals and obligations of American citizenship. The old criticisms concerning the content and methods of our history courses were renewed, and new ones added. As a result we may be quite certain that history teaching is in for an overhauling, and that if necessary changes are not made by its friends, the task will be attempted by its enemies,—with results which we may not like to contemplate.

But the specific question for me to discuss is, "What should the war do for our teaching of history?" I shall present my answer to this question in the form of six propositions:

1. The war should teach us all to think more internationally. It has been a world war in the number and distribution of its participants, and to a certain extent in the range of its operations. Whether the present draft of the League of Nations is adopted as it stands or not, some form of world organization is certain to result, in which we shall have an important part. Our thought must keep pace with the changing situation, remembering that—

New occasions teach new duties
Time makes ancient good uncouth.

The history teacher, without lessening the emphasis on our national ideals and duties, must perform his part in helping to educate the rising generation to a sense of world citizenship. And this, I think, can best be done by giving adequate attention in our schools to the history, aspirations, and institutions, of other people, as well as to factors and movements which in the past hundred years have made for a new internationalism.

2. The war should enforce the old lesson that the present is rooted deep in the past. Just as the biologist and medical scientist invoke the aid of embryology and etiology in dealing with their problems, so the citizen and statesman need the aid of history in dealing with the practical problems of society. Almost none of the questions involved in the present war is capable of intelligent discussion save in the light of history. Serbia and the Balkan question, out of which the struggle immediately grew, requires a knowledge of history for elucidation and settlement. Germany is inexplicable without a knowledge of Bismarck and Frederick the Great, along with Goethe, Schiller, and Martin Luther. So it is with Alsace Lorraine, Schleswig-Holstein, Poland, Morocco, the Turkish Empire—even Bolshevism, that last and most disquieting of all the problems staring us in the face. Our government recognizes the value of history in dealing with these questions, and for over a year past has had working for it, under Col. House's direction, a score or more of historical scholars, in conjunction with other experts, in order to supply the information needed for use at the Peace Conference.

3. It is, however, the recent past,—the period since 1789, or 1815, or even 1850,—which most deeply concerns us in our present national and international relations. This recent history must be taught to make twentieth century citizens, and there should be no break in our study and teaching between the past and the present. Whatever else is desirable, this is indispensable. We must abandon the fetish that causes us always to begin with the beginnings and take first things first. The earliest history course in the high school, instead of being a course in ancient history,

may very well be made a study of the origins and course of the present war.

4. For the purpose of culture and the finer judgments, however, the longer view stretching even to pre-historic days, is still as valuable as ever, and instruction in the remoter periods of history should be afforded, so far as is consistent with the preceding principle. Possibly this can be done by making a wiser use of historical stories in the lower grades, modifying somewhat the course outlined by the Committee of Eight. Possibly it can be effected by an enlarged use of historical readers, as is done by Superintendent Chandler of Richmond, Virginia. Possibly it must be left to elective courses placed later in the curriculum to be taken by the fortunate few who prepare for college.

5. I should say that historical-mindedness is the goal we should strive for, even more than the acquisition of specific historical knowledge. Its essence is understanding and sound judgment. In part it consists in seeing events in their true perspective, and so presupposes a certain amount of historical background. Still more it consists in an ability to weigh evidence, to criticize statements from the standpoint of good faith and accuracy, to distinguish between assertion,

opinion and proof. To help develop such an attitude of mind the problem method of teaching is extremely useful, with some consideration of sources and discussion of conflicting testimony.

6. Finally, any reconstruction of the historical curriculum, in order to be useful, must be practical. It must consider a two years course in history—I am speaking of the high school—which can be taken by all pupils,—say one year devoted mainly to modern European history and the other to United States history and government,—as better than four years' curriculum whose courses are ordinarily completed by no single pupil. It must take account of the six-three-three type of school organization, pivoting on the junior high school, as well as the older eight-four organization. It must provide especially for the needs of the rural schools, in which at least half of our children of school age are enrolled. And it must interpret the term history broadly, so as to include the whole integral life of man in society—his industry, religion, science, literature and art, as well as his wars and politics.

These I regard as the principles which must especially be kept in mind in a re-organization of the history program in our schools.

Committee on History and Education for Citizenship in the Schools

ORGANIZATION:

"History and Education for Citizenship" is the theme of a new "Committee of Eight," appointed recently by the American Historical Association and the National Board for Historical Service, in co-operation with the Commission on a National Program for Education of the National Education Association. This Committee consists of William C. Bagley, of Teachers' College, Columbia University, Frank S. Bogardus, Indiana State Normal School, Terre Haute, Julian A. C. Chandler, Superintendent of Schools, Richmond, Va., Guy Stanton Ford, University of Minnesota, Samuel B. Harding, member of the Council of the American Historical Association, Daniel C. Knowlton, Central High School, Newark, New Jersey, Andrew C. McLaughlin, University of Chicago and Joseph Schafer, University of Oregon. Messrs. Bagley and Chandler are also members of the Commission of the National Education Association referred to above, from which came the original impulse resulting in the organization of this Committee.

Mr. Harding was made chairman, but on his removal from Washington to Chicago recently he resigned the office, which was thereupon shifted to Mr. Schafer who is at Washington for the year as Vice Chairman and executive head of the National Board for Historical Service with office at 1133 Woodward Building. Mr. Knowlton is Secretary of the Committee. His office is at Central High School, Newark, N. J.

PROGRAM.

A one day's meeting of the Committee in Chicago on February 28, supplemented by a conference of the Committee with a representative group of middle western educators, resulted in the adoption of a working program of which the following are the salient points: (a) Starting from the idea of education for citizenship the Committee will plan courses in history for the eight years of the common school and the four years of high school, taking account also of the six-three-three arrangement where that is in vogue. In addition it will consider the special needs of the normal school, the rural school and the special Americanization programs. (b) As its most urgent problem, the Committee will study the question of high school history courses, and will prepare a report on a first year of history and a second year of history in the high school. These courses, to be given either in the first and second or the second and third years,—this point to be decided after further investigation,—are to be (1) A course in Modern History and (2) A course in United States History. (c) The Committee accepts the report of the former Committee of Eight as the basis of the common school history work; but it expects to study this report with a view to adjusting its recommendations to the new situation resulting from a recasting of the high school work, and for the purpose of effecting other improvements which may seem advisable and practicable. One suggested

change is to strengthen and dignify the sixth grade history, covering European backgrounds, in order to make it serve as an introduction to the Modern History Course in the high school as well as to the American History course of the seventh and eighth grades. To that end the Committee believes the sixth grade work in history should be made a basis of promotion, as is the history of the upper two years. (d) For controlling its procedure in the outlining of courses, the Committee will attempt to apply the principle that "Every new step in history instruction should be a step forward in the subject." It will seek to eliminate duplication of material by a careful selection of subject matter to be taught at each stage of the work in history. It also contemplates setting up some effective standards for measuring results in history instruction. (e) The Committee are agreed that methods of teaching history should be considered in the report, that specimen lessons should be presented and that one of the guiding principles in methodology is the necessity, for this new time, of placing greater stress than formerly upon significant interpretative ideas as opposed to a multiplicity of unrelated facts.

INFLUENCE OF THE WAR.

We hardly need to add, that the fresh study of the problem of history in the schools is one of the direct results of the war. It was because the war necessitated a very general overhauling of the school history curricula that the National Education Association Commission requested the history people to undertake the work. "American experience of that conflict has brought home forcibly to many minds the need of better adjustment of the school work in these lines to the changed conditions of the nation and the world." Educators generally recognize that the war has definitely established recent and *contemporaneous* history as indispensable features in the history courses. Hereafter there are to be no gaps between the pupils' historical knowledge and the life he enters on leaving school. To be a fully equipped American citizen in the post-war period, the boy or girl must have some definite knowledge of world affairs as well as of strictly national affairs. The curriculum requires remaking in order that time may be found for the new and compelling interests.

CO-OPERATION.

The Committee, at the Chicago meeting, decided to confine its specific recommendations to the field of history proper, but to indicate points of contact with other related fields. It also expressed a desire to co-operate with other organizations and committees which are interested in the problem of education for citizenship.

The Committee invited correspondence from teachers and others who may be interested in any phase of the problem as outlined above. Communications should be sent either to Joseph Schafer, Chairman, 1133 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C., or to Daniel C. Knowlton, Secretary, Central High School, Newark, N. J.

STATEMENT OF AIMS.

At its final session on Saturday, March 1, the Committee informally adopted a tentative statement of aims, formulated as follows:

1. The supreme aim in the teaching of history and social science is to give positive direction to the growth of those mental and moral qualities of children which, rightly developed, constitute the basis of the highest type of citizenship.

2. We gladly acknowledge that all sound training, through whatever feature of the school curriculum, contributes helpfully to this desired end, but we are nevertheless convinced that the historical training affects the result most directly.

3. Historical training (a) frees the mind from the trammels of time and place, substituting the idea of orderly development and change for the instinctive notion of a static social world, performing in this respect a service in education analogous to that performed by biology for organic nature or by geology for inorganic nature. (b) It tends to produce open-mindedness, which mitigates native prejudice and permits truth to gain recognition. (c) It induces patient inquiry for the purpose of disclosing the facts of a given situation before passing judgment. (d) It gives some grasp upon the methods of investigation and the tests of accuracy. (e) It develops that form of judgment which deals with the shifting and conditional relations of men in society, supplementing the scientific judgment which develops under the study of animate and inanimate nature and of mathematics. (f) It yields—or should yield—the high moral and ethical concepts of loyalty to principles and to institutions by revealing the cost at which the elements of civilization have been secured for us.

CURRENT PERIODICAL ARTICLES ON THE TEACHING OF HISTORY.

LISTED BY W. L. HALL, NEW YORK STATE LIBRARY.

Gathany, J. Madison. Weekly outline study of current history. *The Outlook*.

Knowlton, Daniel C. Readers' guide and study outline. *Leslie's Weekly*.

Ross, Earle D. The history teacher as an image breaker. *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, XVII (October, 1918), 330-333.

Sioussat, St. George L. Some suggestions as to the equipment needed in the teaching of history. *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, June, 1918.

Two very interesting articles on the "Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms" are the ones by Sir F. S. P. Lely, C.S.I., K.C.I.E., in the *Asiatic Review* for January, 1919, and by Hon. Mr. W. H. Arden Wood in *Calcutta Review* for October, 1918. The former is a criticism of the report, especially of those sections relating to the peasants, and a defence of British policy in India; the latter is a defence of the attitude of the governing class of natives towards the peasant. Mr. Wood says, "The peasant of India is less affected by public affairs than is anyone of his class in the world; his idea of liberty is simply freedom from oppression."

Memorandum of a Method of Noting and Arranging Material in Research

BY BROADUS MITCHELL, JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

Anyone who has had experience in original research work, certainly in the social sciences, knows that the taking of notes on the material and the arrangement of these notes, is more than half the battle. This purely physical side of the scholar's task looms large at every stage of it. That the memory cannot retain all, and that the analytical sense must be aided by visible outlines, is a great misfortune.

It is not infrequently true that, because of a poor system, or because of carelessness in pursuing the system adopted, the material after being reduced to the form of notes makes a mass almost as unintelligible and inchoate as before examination. The student is freed from "the tyranny of the unread," it is true, but he faces a new goblin in his own combings of that reading. He may put his most urgent queries to such a jumble of notes, but, sphinx-like, it answers him never a word. It is not constituted in such a way that sequences and uniformities naturally appear.

Any suggestions, therefore, that may help in the formation of a simple and workable collection of notes should be worth while. The writer believes that the method described in this memorandum must be used, with unimportant variations, by most students in research, but he ventures to outline it in detail in the hope that it may mean a substantial saving in trouble to those who may not have come upon it, and a further improvement for those who already are familiar with the general system.

Altogether the worst way of noting down the results of reading for the purposes of research, is to use a blank book. This is mentioned because by remarking the defects in this poorest device, the requirements for a better expedient are brought out clearly. It is very little trouble in the making of notes to fill up one page of a blank book, turn the sheet and fill the reverse side, go to the next page, and so on till the book is written up. But when one comes to composition, these pages call for endless turnings back and forth; they must be fingered long in looking for some much-needed but strangely elusive sentence of fact. There is the exasperating partial recollection of having seen that thing somewhere in the book. And when it seems that all has been culled from its pages on a particular point, there is still the haunting fear of having omitted a salient or helpful suggestion which did not come under the eye.

Furthermore, to use a note-book means that when composition is undertaken, an elaborate outline must be made as a guide in employing the material. There is the defect here that without the jottings directly before one, something important may not be included in the scheme for writing.

Now for the deductions which the errors of this

method force to the front, and assume, as it were, the shape of a theory of notes and their arrangement. In the first place, and important above all else, whatever form of pages or cards is chosen, the writing should be on only one side. The primary idea is to get the material as nearly immediately visible as it is possible to do. A note on the under side is well-nigh as useless as though it were in China. For the research student, no piece of paper and no card has more than one surface.

The second great requirement is that the notes should be as nearly as possible capable of separation. The germ must be isolated. This means, first, that the sheets must be separate, loose; and it means, second, that the ideal condition is to have but one note on each page or card. This last is the most difficult of accomplishment, and the best way of remedying this inherent trouble is dwelt upon below.

The logic of these two general observations is apparent. The cards (using this term to cover pages, sheets, slips, or whatever material is employed) should bear their meaning uppermost, and they should be capable of being shifted to any order or sequence.

Not the least useful consequence of such an arrangement is that it makes inductive study much more immediate than any other method. Instead of reading over one's notes, putting them aside, and working out a system of treatment in what detail it may be possible with the material out of sight, by the suggested device it is easy to form a general scheme for the composition and then let the notes, shifted to this or that position, as in a deck of playing cards, indicate the minuter filling in of the outline.

So much for the underlying reasons. In considering now the practical application of the "theory," the cards claim first attention.

Cardboard is preferable to paper because of its greater stiffness; it will stand more thumbing and erasures. The writer has found ruled cards six inches long by four inches wide altogether the best. They may be bought for very little more than the three by five size, and besides being more satisfactory because they hold more, are really cheaper in the end than the smaller cards, for if the three by five are used it is found that the usual brief note runs to a second card, which is clearly undesirable. The cards are to be had in a number of shades, and it will be found well to take advantage of this to allow differentiation of the divisions of one's notes at a glance. It is convenient to use cards of one color for material selected from books, of another for that taken from newspapers, a third color for letters, a fourth for interviews, etc. White is, of course, the best; canary yellow is the next best, the salmon is good, and blue, unless a light shade, is the poorest.

It is prudent to leave the first line or two lines vacant, both because in working with the cards there is frequent occasion to insert an explanation not at first thought of, and because space is needed for indexing. This indexing is the most puzzling part of the work, and almost the most important.

Where the investigator has been clever in confining the card to one note, or to notes bearing on just the same point precisely, it is simple; where there is a confusion of topics in one memorandum (and too often this confusion seems to be organic, especially in the case of direct quotations which cannot be broken down into their component elements) the greatest care is needed. The source may be cited on the top line at the right of the card, taking up as little of the line as possible. In the upper left-hand corner, covering a square inch or two square inches if necessary, guide-words, giving in the briefest form the substance of the note or notes contained on that card, are clearly printed in red ink. A blunt-pointed pen is likely to show best results. Everyone will naturally follow his own system in this indexing, but it may be suggested that the word or phrase indicating the large division of the study under which the particular card will fall, be written largest, and underscored, with subsidiary words of explanation in less conspicuous position. Frequently, on a poor card, there must be several underscored words, and more explanatory words. The thing to bear in mind is that the red lettering is to serve as guide in the arrangement of the cards. The success of the system will largely depend upon the completeness, and at the same time the laconic character, of the indexing. To make these points clear a specimen card, taken from the writer's notes, is given below in reduced size:

Baker, L., Gaffney, S. C., Sept. 13, 1916.

LABOR
OTHER MILLS
FARMS
NORTH
PLENTY

Operatives came to the Gaffney Mill, the first in the town, from Clifton and other factories, and some from farms nearby. A few came from the North. There was no lack of help.

File boxes of heavy cardboard holding about a thousand cards, may be bought at reasonable price, and are necessary to protect the cards from dust and damage they would receive if kept any other way. While a long box such as this may be used to hold the cards while they are being used in the composition, it is best to have a smaller box, of wood, holding about two or three hundred, for this purpose.

The method followed with good results by the writer is to form a general scheme of treatment, not-

ing the skeleton of the paper or chapter on a card kept before him. Then the cards are gone over, the indexing suggesting the classification for each. The third step is to appeal to the text of the notes themselves for the exact placement of each card relative to the others. In this way, shuffling of the cards gives a more complete, precise and faithful arrangement of the material than could be accomplished by an outline made independently of physical manipulation of the cards. When the cards have been shifted so as to develop the thought, they are placed in the small file-box, with guide cards (the ordinary sort, with humps protruding above the file cards), inserted behind each division or subdivision. It is convenient to take out each group of cards to be laid on the table by one, and be lifted off one at a time as the composition proceeds. Where a card contains notes on more than one topic, it may be employed for the first use, and then stuck in behind the guide card of the next division of the writing for which it is wished; it may be set on end provisionally, and later inserted in its proper place in the new group when that is reached.

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calf.

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The Class as a Productive Factor: Methods of Work

BY DORIS WEST BEPLER, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

INTRODUCTION.

Several enquiries have been received by the writer asking him to give in detail the nature of the methods employed in handling the work described in his article, "A Producing Class in Hispanic American History," published in the *History Teacher's Magazine* for February, 1918. The article by Miss Beppler, given herewith, is an answer to these requests. The instructions are those which are being used for a piece of work similar to that mentioned in the "Producing Class" article; in this case an attempt is being made to list all articles in California periodicals which can be considered material for history. The number of tasks upon which these methods may be employed is almost without limit. For example, a high school teacher may utilize his class for working up materials for the history of the town where he is teaching. If the school is located at a county seat, the archives of the county may be covered. In any event, the files of the local newspapers or other municipal records may be catalogued. Where a good library is available, an incalculable number of bibliographical subjects may be worked up, whether concerning a given locality, or concerning given types of matter, such as history, economics, education, agriculture, etc. The advantages of this course are numerous. There is at least a possibility of the accumulation of valuable materials; the interest of the teacher is almost certain to be stimulated, and the work may be very well appreciated by the community in which he lives, thus improving his standing; and finally the pupils will surely enjoy work of this character, even if their results may not in all cases merit publication.

CHARLES E. CHAPMAN,
University of California.

I. The material in this bibliographical work as finally published will be in three parts:

- A. *Periodical index.*
- B. *Author entries.*
- C. *Subject index.*

All these will be arranged alphabetically.

A. *The periodical index.*

This part of the work will list all the periodicals used, their abbreviations; the place of publication; the dates and numbers of the volumes used in this bibliography; a few remarks as to the general character of each periodical, and the nature of the material that each contains relative to the subject of this publication. The number of articles from each periodical, with an indication of their place in the author entries, may also be inserted.

B. *Author entry.*

1. *Author's name.*

- a. Arrangement of name: surname, comma, first and subsequent Christian names in full, if possible. (To determine Christian names when not given, use *Who's Who*, Library catalog, etc.)
- b. Omit titles, such as Dr., Prof., Mrs., etc.
- c. For surnames with prefixes (e. g., de Vaca, de Grasse) consult *Cutter's Catalog rules*, or the *A. L. A. Catalog rules*.
- d. Many difficulties may arise in determining an author's name.
 - (1.) Article may be anonymous. When this is the case, if name is determinable, enter it. If not determinable, enter title as the author.
 - (2.) A pseudonym may be used, e. g., Mark Twain for Samuel Langhorne Clemens. Form of entry when correct name can be determined: Clemens, Samuel Langhorne. Mark Twain *pseud.* When not determinable, and it is known that the name is a pseudonym, enter in this way: Old Block *pseud.*
 - (3.) Initials only may be given. When the full name is determinable enter it. If not determinable just enter the initials, being sure to put the last one first with a comma after it. S., H. J.
- e. If there is more than one author, enter the article under the name of the one first mentioned, with references from the others, e.g., Chapman, Charles E., and Mitrani, Charles S. *New light on Father Serra*. Put reference card in this form—Mitrani, Charles S. *See* Chapman, C. E.

2. *The article title.*

- a. Enter exactly as given as regards spelling and punctuation.
- b. Where an obviously wrong statement is made in a title, e.g., a misspelling or wrong punctuation, enter as it is and follow with an exclamation point in a bracket [!]
- c. *Capitalize only* the first word and proper names.
- d. Underline each separate word of the title (in printing, underlined words will be italicized).
- e. When a title is not given, make up suitable one, and enclose in brackets.
- f. Follow title with a period.

3. *The name of the periodical.*

- a. Use pre-determined abbreviation. Follow by comma.

4. *Location in the periodical.*

- a. Use Arabic numbers.
- b. Follow volume number with a colon and page number, thus 4: 25.
- c. Put down only the page where an article begins—not inclusive pages.
- d. To avoid confusion insert "no." followed by the issue number, between the volume and page in those cases where each number of a volume begins with page 1. Form of entry, 3: no. 7: 28. Following are examples of how to enter locations in a periodical:
 - (1.) When volume and page only are necessary. 6: 32.
 - (2.) Continued article in same volume. 6: 32, 75, 94.
 - (3.) Continued article in different volumes. 6: 32; 7: 98; 8: 4.
 - (4.) When volume, number, and page are necessary. 6: no. 10: 32.
 - (5.) Continued article in different numbers of same volume. 6: no. 10: 32; no. 11: 28.
 - (6.) Continued article in different volumes when number must also be given. 6: no. 12: 32; 7: no. 1: 28.

Note where commas, colons and semicolons are put.

5. *Date of the number of the periodical.*

- a. The month, comma; year, period. Sept., 1916. (Use abbreviations for months.)
- b. Dates for continued articles in consecutive numbers. Put down first and last months with dash between, then comma, then year. Insert date of month also if periodical is weekly or semi-weekly. If years of the two months cited are different, be sure to put them in after respective months.
- c. Dates for continued articles not in consecutive numbers. Put down each month article appears in, with comma between months. Following are examples for dates:
 - (1.) Single article in monthly. Jan., 1902.
 - (2.) Single article in weekly. Jan. 23, 1902.
 - (3.) Continued article in consecutive issues, monthly, Jan-Mar., 1902; weekly, Jan. 23-Mar. 27, 1902; of different years, Nov., 1901-Mar., 1902.
 - (4.) Continued article in non-consecutive issues. Jan., Mar., July, 1902; Nov., 1901; Jan., Mar., 1902.
 - (5.) Continued article in consecutive and non-consecutive issues. Nov., 1901; Jan., Mar.-June, 1902.

6. A round number estimate of the number of words in the article, e.g., "500 words."—period.

7. *Number of illustrations and maps*, if any, abbreviating the word for illustrations, e.g., "4 illus. 1 map."

8. *Description of contents.*

- a. A brief one, two, or three sentence summary, amplifying but not repeating the title; not necessarily in complete sentence form, i.e., may omit the subject.
- b. Indicate the conclusions of the writer, if any.
- c. E.g., "The Alta California supply ships, 1773-76"—could be thus described: "Refers to voyages of supply ships from San Blas to California, and holds that these ships were essential to the maintenance of the early Spanish settlements in California."
- d. Make the statement your own—involving the use of the present tense.
- e. Do not necessarily adopt the conclusions of the writer—use such words as "says," "states," "holds," "maintains," etc.; avoid "claims," as it expresses doubt, and might offend.
- f. Do not get a set formula of words, e.g., do not use "holds" et al in every description.
- g. Have a sense of proportion; give more space to important or scientific articles, less to popular and imaginative history.
- h. Read the article so as to get the essential facts and point of view.
- i. Use the *English language* in descriptions.

9. *Style of entry.* (Important, for it facilitates use.)

- a. Write 3 or 4 lines to 1 inch.
- b. Begin author's name about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch from left hand edge of card and about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch down from the top.
- c. Second and all subsequent lines should begin under the fourth letter to the right of the first letter of the author's name.
- d. Entry should be continuous through the indication of no. of words, illus., and maps.
- e. Description of contents should begin at the same point as line two; and so also subsequent lines.
- f. There should be three spaces after each period, and one after each comma.
- g. Underline, without quotation marks, the names of ships, books, periodicals, etc., mentioned in your description.
- h. If it is necessary to use a second or third card for your description, number the cards at the center of the top margin.

10. *Ultimate arrangement.* All items will be alphabetized and numbered consecutively.

C. *Subject index.*

1. Use a separate card for each entry.
2. The number per item depends:
 - a. On the range of the article.
 - b. On the title and description, and on the proper names appearing in the article.
 - c. On the importance of the article; not more than one on unimportant, popular, imaginative articles.
3. How to enter:
 - a. So that the important word of the subject matter comes first.
 - b. Examples based on an article entitled, *Difficulties of maintaining the department of San Blas*:
 - (1.) San Blas, department of.
 - (2.) Supply ships of Spanish California.
 - c. Capitalize only the first words and proper names.
 - d. End with a comma (which will eventually be followed by the item number of the author entry).
11. *Range of the articles.*
 1. Everything that is, or purports to be, a history article.
 2. Everything about history, e.g., history teaching.
 3. Everything that seems to be useful as materials for history, e.g., a contemporary description of Monterey in 1880, etc.
 4. When in doubt, *include*—and leave the question of exclusion to the director of the work.
 5. Material of a historical character for other parts of the earth as well as California.
 6. Many periodicals contain each month or each week editorials on local or world events. Instead of entering each little item separately it is well to combine those on one subject that run through many issues. Make up a good general title and enclose it in brackets. Form

[Chinese immigration question]. Argo., 6: no. 7: 55; no. 8: 20; no. 9: 16; no. 12: 17; Apr. 21-May 6, June 1, 1902, 6,000 words.

III. *General remarks.*

1. Write in ink, or typewrite.
2. Write clearly, neatly, and carefully.
3. At center of lower edge of each author card every student should put down his assigned number so that he may be held responsible for the work on that card.
4. File author and subject entries, for each item together—author card before its subject cards. Arrange cards consecutively in order in which articles appear in periodicals. Upon completing of assignment hand it in, with name and dates of receiving assignment and completing it. Make out list on separate card of author's name and titles arranged in order as occur in volumes. Number them consecutively. Indicate where each volume begins by double line. (This is for the convenience of the director of the work.)

The following is a sample author entry:

435. Davis, John F. *California's method of getting into the Union*. Grizzly Bear, 13: no. 5: 1. Sept., 1913. 2,000 words. 1 illus.

An account of the "characteristically Californian way" in which California struggled to be admitted as a state without having served a territorial apprenticeship.

(23-12-44)

The following is a typical subject entry in its completed form:

Admission to the Union, 24, 435, 679, 774, 789, 896, 1125, 2234.

An entry like the above will indicate that there are eight articles dealing with the subject of California's admission to the Union, one of which will be the article entered above as number 435.

A Suggestion on the History Note-Book¹

BY PAUL TINCHER SMITH, A.M., PURDUE UNIVERSITY.

Probably no problem which the history teacher in the secondary school has to face is more vexing than that of the note-book. Several suggestions for improvement have been made, and many of them have been acted upon, but there still remains room for suggestion. There are but three possible choices; either retain the old system with its faults, throw over the note-book idea entirely, or find a way in between the two extremes to meet the problems presented. Of the three choices, the third is the only real possibility; the old system is not doing the work, and yet there is much that seems to be desirable in some form

of permanent writing. The problem resolves itself into the question as to what the nature and scope of the reorganized system shall be. This paper, as the title indicates, is merely a suggestion as to a possible means of reaching the desired form. A plan is hereinafter outlined, which has been used with a considerable degree of success in a city high school for two years. It is not claimed for the plan that it is a complete solution of the problem; but it does seem, after the probation of two years, to merit continuation.

The formal loose-leaf note-book showed several difficulties in the case under discussion, and it was determined to try some plan which might eliminate, to a degree, at least, some of the difficulties. First, let us look at the difficulties, then the plan now in use, and

¹The plan here outlined was used by the writer in the Jefferson High School of Lafayette, Ind. It is now being used by the present instructors.

finally, compare the two systems as to their success in meeting the questions. The problems were sixfold: Copying, lack of interest, hurried work, works of art, lost time, and lack of useful organization. In the description which follows, it will be seen that the central idea is not at all new. However, many of the details, and especially their application to high school work, are thought to be more or less original.

In place of the stiff covers, we now use a three-by-five card index box; instead of expensive loose-leaf paper, three-by-five paper was substituted. We do not use cards because they are too expensive, and because they take up too much room. It was found that the local printers often had a good grade of white paper which went to waste, because it was too small for ordinary use, whereas it was large enough to cut the required size for our purpose. As the printer had only to cut the paper, he could afford to sell to us at a very small increase over scrap price. A hundred cards cost fifteen to twenty cents; a hundred sheets of paper cost less than a cent, and take up less than half the room required for cards. A small number of index cards completes the list of materials. The total cost for a semester is about sixty cents; not more than the amount used for a note-book.²

In place of the departments used formerly in the note-book, there is now a compartment for each important development in the course, each labeled with an index card. The organization of the box into departments differs with the student, and very much with the nature of the history under consideration. An example from recent American history will illustrate. In this case the following organization is often used: Tariff, bank, administrations, panics, industry, wars, parties, slavery. Other topics might well be added in some cases, and possibly some of those mentioned might be combined in other cases. Under each heading the student enters a note concerning each event which bears relation to that heading, gathering the material from the text as he goes. When outside reading is done, the notes are taken on the same kind of paper, and they are entered among the textbook notes, chronologically, or according to some other logical arrangement. If talks are given in class, or if a special report is made, notes on these are also entered.

The notes are sometimes in the form of quotations, but usually they are short and to the point. When the box is complete the student has a concise outline for review, and a systematized knowledge of the facts. This is the bare outline of the plan. The following paragraphs will attempt to illustrate the working of the plan in some detail, and to show its advantages over the formal note-book in meeting the mentioned difficulties.

Copying was the first mentioned evil of the old system. It may be said that copying can be handled by a competent teacher, without a change from the old

system, if the work can be so arranged that all of it can be done in the sight of the teacher, but this is difficult. Moreover, the present system is so arranged that there is little incentive to copying. The student is urged not to use too much time in writing, but to condense what he reads into small space, and that in his own words. If you have this much leeway, there is little desire to copy what some one else has written. We have a supervised hour for each subject, and most of the work is done at that time. Last-minute work is a temptation to do other than original work; and here there is little to do at the last moment. The note-box is due every day, and the teacher can see it every day. The system at this point will not work itself; the teacher must have his or her eyes open, but the likelihood of copying is lessened.

Lack of interest was evident among some of the members of the old sections. They were mainly students of two kinds, those who did not need a note-book badly because of keen minds, and those who were too lazy to work at the job. For both of these, the box system has done good; the good student has time to read more and the poor student does not have so much writing to do. Moreover, the novelty of the scheme is helpful to the whole class. The personality of each student is allowed to work itself out in the making of his box. The note-book can be made to hold some interest, but it is believed that it can be done more effectively and with less waste of energy by use of the boxes.

A note-book due at regular intervals leaves a big temptation for many students to leave all the work until the last night, and then sit up most of that night working on it. The worse than uselessness of such a note-book is patent. The difficulty is met in the box system by the notes being due every day. The student, moreover, gets the advantage of doing regular work.

The excellent specimens of note-book work were usually done by those students who delighted in craftsmanship. This in itself is well enough, but much time was spent in detail work that might better have been spent on additional collateral reading, at least from the standpoint of the teaching of the one subject of history. Again the two classes of students appear; those who are really good and yet enjoy fancy work, and those who are poor students but who can let themselves out on a piece of fine workmanship. The poor ones could better have used their time on concentration on the text itself. The box is not intended in the first place to be a thing of beauty, although carelessness is not encouraged. The box is distinctly for the student, and not for the teacher. He understands that he is making the box for himself, and why he is doing what he is; he knows he will not be judged by the standard set by some one else. He has a chance to develop his own tendencies, and, as long as he stays within reasonable bounds, he can do things his own way.

No real teacher of history who attempts to do the reading necessary for intelligent instruction, can care-

² The boxes can be procured for thirty-five cents; ten cents' worth of paper is sufficient for the average student; ten to fifteen cards for indexing are usually sufficient.

fully examine a set of formal note-books often enough to insure the right kind of work. The boxes can be examined daily with little loss of time. Once the system is understood by the student, a daily glance at the work, with a suggestion here and there will be sufficient to keep things going straight. It may be argued that the history teacher should help teach English through the note-book. That would be fine if the teacher had time to do the job right. It is better to have little work done, and done correctly, than to have a great mass, and that without organization and full of mistakes. An occasional chance for development of style and grammar is given by means of a formal carefully written paper two or three times a semester. This often a teacher can take time to read carefully, and the pupil has time to make a real effort at writing. The time which the pupil saves from too many formal papers can profitably be turned into more extensive reading.

The most important objection to the note-book was that it was not flexible, and, in that much, was unscientific. For collected material to be valuable even to a high school student, it should be perfectly adjustable, and the source of information should be immediately at hand. An actual note will illustrate here better than anything else. The form used is similar to that in use in many universities; the upper left-hand corner is devoted to a general heading always, the upper right-hand corner, to the date, and the lower left-hand corner to the exact reference. Students are trained to be as exact as possible in date and always exact in reference to author, book, and page. The body of the note is left open for the material itself. Only one note goes on a page, whether it be one word or a hundred.

Tariff Abominations 1828

Tariff of abominations was passed by a clever scheme of certain Jackson leaders to secure credit for protectionist sentiment without passing the bill. It was also planned to divide their opponents.

Fish, *Development of American Nationality*, 181

This note might very properly be filed under the heading of tariff. But it might also be convenient to have it taken out and placed in a logical scheme in a series of notes on sectionalism, if that student happened to have a special report or a formal paper on sectionalism. The mechanics of the note-book look complex, but it is surprising how quickly a student will make such things second nature; standard abbreviations may be used successfully if carefully watched. The big advantage of exact reference is that the student giving a special report can prove a statement or some one can disprove it immediately by reference to their notes.

Not every phase of the problem has been thoroughly worked out; the box plan takes a little time to explain on inauguration; careful watching by the teacher is necessary to make it a complete success. But, put into practice with care, it really seems to meet some needs which the note-book did not. It is open to amendment and special application to local situations.

United States and the World War

BY PROFESSOR H. G. PLUM, STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

I. The struggle to maintain neutrality.

A. Introduction—America's Foreign Policy.

1. America's historic policy. The Monroe Doctrine. University of Iowa Extension Bulletin. Plum, the Monroe Doctrine and the War.
2. The expansion of our foreign policy. Extension Bulletin, as above.
3. Beginnings of International Relations. Extension Bulletin, as above.

B. American opinion of the war, 1914. War Information Series, McLaughlin, The Great War, etc.

1. Those indifferent because of geographical and historical remoteness. *War Cyclopedia*, 282; *New Republic*, I: 9-10; *Living Age*, 287: 370-373.
2. Those wishing to maintain peace; President Wilson's appeal, International Conciliation leaflet, 92; The Pacifists; *New Republic*, 10, 246-8; *Atlantic Monthly*, 119, 565-9; *The Nation*, 104, 595-597; Current History of the War (*New York Times*), III; 434-441; *Declaration of Neutrality*, *War Cyclopedia*, under United States Neutrality.
3. Preparedness propaganda.

Resolutions of Lodge and Gardiner. See House Documents, Senate Documents. Attitude of Roosevelt, *War Cyclopedia*, under Belgium's War; Current History of the War (*New York Times*), II, 444-6; III, 494, 684.

4. The Pro-German Attitude, *North American Review*, 205, 683; *War Cyclopedia*, under "Hyphenated Americans," "United States Isolation."

C. Alienation from Germany.

1. The German war measures and atrocities, *War Cyclopedia*, under "Atrocities," "Belgium," "Cavell," "Fryatt," "Mercier, Cardinal," "Lusitania."
2. German propaganda and intrigues, *Atlantic Monthly*, 120: 739-745; *World's Work*, 30: 135-137; *Outlook*, 115-255; *War Cyclopedia*, under "Ingel, von, Papers of," "German Intrigue," "Parole," "Passports," "German Frauds," President Wilson's speech, April 2, 1917.

3. Controversies with Germany.

- a. Munitions. See Bryan to Senator Stone in International Conciliation, No. 96; *War Cyclopedia*, under "Munitions," "Monroe Doctrines," "German Attitude," "Strict Accountability."
- b. The Submarine Sinkings. *War Cyclopedia*, under "Submarine Warfare," "Submarine Blockade," "Sussex, Ultimatum," Pelzer, "German Submarine Warfare Against the United States, 1915-1917," University of Iowa Extension Bulletin, No. 29.
- c. Compare our controversies with Germany with the controversy with England.

II. From Neutrality to War.

1. Summary of the causes of the war.

- a. In self-defense against Germany's attack on our commerce. *The Century*, October, 1917; War Information Series, No. 5, "A War of Self-Defense;" *Literary Digest*, October 27, 1917, pp. 7-11.
- b. The renewal of Germany's submarine policy, February 1, 1917. *War Cyclopedia*, under "Submarine Warfare, Unrestricted," Pelzer,

"The Submarine Controversy," etc. University of Iowa Extension Bulletin, No. 29; "How the War Came to America," War Information Series; *Century*, October, 1917.

- c. The German conspiracies in the United States. The President's Flag Day Address; *War Cyclopaedia*, under "Zimmerman Note;" the University of Chicago War Papers; McLaughlin, "Sixteen Causes of the War;" *Literary Digest*, October 6, 1917, pp. 9-12; the War Message; *Current Opinion*, July, 1917, pp. 5-8; *World's Work*, current month.

- d. The interest of the United States in democracy abroad. War Information Series, "American Interest in Popular Government Abroad;" also, "The Battle Line of Democracy;" Greene, "American Interest in Popular Government Abroad," University of Illinois Publications; *War Cyclopaedia*, under "Russian Revolution," "Democracy," etc.; the University of Chicago War Papers; Bramhall, "Democracy, the Basis of a World Order," War Information Series; Hazen, "The Government of Germany."

- e. Germany had threatened the peace of the world. *War Cyclopaedia*, under "Autocracy," "Mittel Europa," "Prussianism," "Hegemony;" the University of Iowa Extension Bulletin; Plum, "What is Prussianism, An Historical Enquiry;" "The Threat of German World Politics."

2. The declaration of war.

a. Steps preceding it.

1. Dismissal of German Ambassador, February 3, 1917. *War Cyclopaedia*, under "Diplomatic Immunity," "United States Break with Germany," "Prussian Treaties, Attempted Modifications of."

2. Recommendation of armed neutrality, February 26, adopted March 12, 1917. *War Cyclopaedia*, under "Armed Neutrality," addresses of President Wilson.

- b. The recommendation of a state of war by President Wilson, April 2, 1917. Addresses of President Wilson; *War Cyclopaedia*, under "United States, Break with Germany," etc.; War Information Series, "The War Message," etc.

- c. The Declaration of War. See University of Iowa Extension Bulletin; Pelzer, "The German Submarine Warfare," etc.; War Information Series, First Session of the War Congress.

III. Some Problems of America at War.

A. Why America has supported the war.

1. An obligation of American citizenship. See Mr. Root's speech in Chicago, September, 1917, in *History Teacher's Magazine*, January, 1918.

2. It is a war for democratic ideals. See President's address in War Information Series, "How the War Came to America;" *Annals of American Academy*, 72, pp. 1-10; J. W. Bashford, "America and World Democracy," in *Good Housekeeping*, August, 1917.

- a. Is democracy worth fighting for? Why? See "American Interest in Popular Government Abroad," Bulletin Committee on Public Information.

- b. Make a list of Germany's ideals and compare

them with ours. War Information Series, Hazen, "The Government of Germany;" the University of Iowa Extension Bulletin; Plum, "What is Prussianism, An Historical Enquiry."

3. It is a war for humanity. War Information Series, Munro, "German War Practices;" *New Republic*, January 27, 1917; Current History (*New York Times*), Vol. 5, pp. 1111-1112; *War Cyclopaedia*, under "Prisoners of War," "Spurlos Versenkt," "Hun," etc.; Havelock, "Deeper Causes of the War."

4. It is a war for peace. Henry van Dyke, "Fighting for Peace;" Brown, "Philip Marshall," "The World Peril and World Peace" in "The World Peril," by members Princeton University Faculty.

- a. What are the terms of a democratic peace? Cf. Wilson's fourteen peace propositions.

- b. How do these differ from the proposed German terms? Cf. *Literary Digest*, January 19, 1918.

- c. Should we have the terms of peace in mind while we are fighting the war? See Wilson's and Lloyd George's peace terms, in official documents looking toward peace, Series III, International Conciliation Publications.

- B. How we have supported the war. War Information Series, the National Service Handbook; *World's Work*, April, 1917; *Literary Digest*, May 12, 1917; War Information Series, "The Nation in Arms."

1. Military support, *Independent*, April 21, 1917; *Review of Reviews*, May, 1917.

2. What the civilian has done. *World's Work*, April, 1917; *Independent*, April 14, 1917; September 15, 1917; *Literary Digest*, May 12, 1917.

3. The community at work for the war. *The Ladies' Home Journal*, October, 1917. Philanthropy, savings, conservation, etc.

- a. How the community has been drafted for home service? See *Literary Digest* each week, under Food Administration Problems.

C. Freedom of speech and censorship of the press.

1. What the Constitution says. See Federal Constitution, Amendment I; Constitution of Iowa, Article 1, 37; cf. McClain, *Constitutional Law in the United States*, Ch. 38, which gives references for cases. (Ask a lawyer for this volume.) Compare Root's Chicago speech outline.

- a. How was Congress able to pass the espionage law of May 31, 1917, restricting speech, writing and meetings?

- b. What is the relation between freedom of speech and treason?

2. What was the basis of England's censorship of our mail? *Nation*, September 28, 1916; *Literary Digest*, August 5, 1916; October 28, 1916; June 10, 1916; April 15, 1916; *Independent*, June 5, 1916; *Outlook*, October 25, 1916.

- a. International law.

3. The United States Espionage Act, 1917. See War Information Series, First Session of the War Congress; *Literary Digest*, October 6, 1917; *Survey*, June 9, 1917; July 21, 1917; *North American Review*, June, 1916; *World's Almanac*, 1918, p. 183.

4. What should be the status of free speech in a democracy? Cf. *Nation*, February 22, 1917; April 12, 1917; December 7, 1917; *Independent*,

April 2, 1917; April 25, 1917; June 2, 1917; *Survey*, May 12, 1917; *Outlook*, April 19, 1917; *Forum*, June, 1916; *Current Opinion*, June, 1916.

- a. How far may a citizen go in criticising the government?
- b. Why may not our soldiers write home when they start for France?
- c. Why may we not now discuss the matter of our Declaration of War?

D. The selective draft law. See War Information Series, First Session of the War Congress.

1. The civil war draft. United States Statutes at Large, Vol. 12 (ask a lawyer for this); Rhodes, "History of the United States," Vol. IV, pp. 236, 320, 426, 506; Hart's Contemporaries, IV, 376-381; Nicolay and Hay, Abraham Lincoln, VII, 5-13, 17-26; MacDonald, Select Statutes, No. 13; State Historical Society of Iowa, "Iowa and War," No. 2, pp. 17-24; No. 5, pp. 19-24.

- a. Compare the civil war draft law with the selective draft law of 1917. (Ask the old settlers why it was disliked.)

2. The selective draft. See *Current History*, June, 1917; *Independent*, May 5, 1917; June 14, 1917; *Survey*, May 5, 1917; August 4, 1917; *Review of Reviews*, June, 1917; *Nation*, August 23, 1917; June 5, 1917; *Literary Digest*, May 12, 1917; June 2, 1917; August 4, 1917; June 14, 1917; April 21, 1917; *New Republic*, January 13, 1917; May 5, 1917; August 18, 1917; *Outlook*, April 18, 1917.

IV. The United States and the Peace.

For this section review Wilson's fourteen peace points, and follow the negotiations in the current literature.

MATERIALS FOR THIS OUTLINE.

I. Free materials.

1. Committee on Public Information (10 Jackson Avenue, Washington, D. C.). Full set of their publications.
2. American Association for International Conciliation (Carnegie Foundation, Washington, D. C.). Official documents bearing on the war.
3. Columbia War Papers (Columbia University, New York, especially useful on what can be done by the people at large).
4. Library of Congress (H. H. B. Meyer, compiler). United States at War; Organization and Literature.
5. University of Iowa Extension Bulletins:
 - a. Pelzer, The German Submarine Warfare.
 - b. Plum, The Monroe Doctrine and the War.
6. National Security League, 19 West Forty-fourth Street, New York. (All publications sent on receipt of postage.)
7. National Board for Historical Service, Washington, D. C. All publications, valuable to teachers.
8. The University of Chicago, War Papers, Chicago, Ill.

11. Other materials easily obtainable.

1. The World Almanac, 1918. (Contains most of the valuable documents, Acts of Congress, etc.)
2. Woodrow Wilson, In Our First Year of War. *Harper's*. (Contains messages and addresses of Wilson for 1917.) All royalties on this volume go to Red Cross.
3. Hart, A. B., America at War. An outline of the subject with bibliography and references.
4. Bingham, A., Handbook of the European War.
5. Davis, Roots of the War.

Periodical Literature

BY GERTRUDE BRAMLETTE RICHARDS, PH.D.

The article on "The Work of Pope Benedict XV in Favor of Prisoners of War" (*La Civiltà Cattolica* for December 7, 1918) gives interesting statistics regarding English and Belgian prisoners of war.

According to André Bahauet, in his article on "French Interests in Latin America" (*La Nouvelle Revue*, January 15, 1919), the paralyzing German influence in Brazil and the unfortunate Mexican policy of France, have alike had disastrous results so far as France is concerned.

"Historians have the noblest of callings. We do not invent our plot, nor create the characters in the play. The creator of all things supplies these. It is for us to discern them accurately, to describe them with all the truth there is in us, and to make them live again, for life is their one indispensable, God-given essence. . . . We historians compete with God and we must leave nothing undone to make our poor transcripts of His masterpieces true to the divine originals," says William Roscoe Thayer in his inspiring article, "Vagaries of the Historian" (*American Historical Review* for January).

General Malletierre's series of articles on "How the War was Won" begins in the March *Harper's* with Part I: "The Decisive Factors." The author is military critic of the *Paris Temps*, and his article is decidedly worth reading.

"The No-Man's Land of American Policy," by Glenn Frank (*March Century*), gives the main problems of transition economics that call for measurably quick action, and in contrast with them, some of the long-time problems of policy which it seems essential that we face.

In "The Passing of the Saint," by John M. Mecklin (*American Journal of Sociology* for January) declares that the social significance of the saint depended upon spiritual and moral solidarity, the guarantee of which was found in the supreme authority of the church, . . . and the secret of the spiritual power of the saint was dependent on his keeping himself separate from a social order given over to him."

Sir Herbert Stephens' "League of Dreams" (*Nineteenth Century* for January) calls attention to the defects of existing plans for a league for peace. "Any League of Nations to be effective," he says, "must include all nations, enforce views by public opinion, ensure delay before war may be declared, and must provide for gradual disarmament."

The South Atlantic Quarterly for January, 1919, publishes "Virginia Works and Days—1814-19," a study of educational, religious and general economic conditions during a period of unusual prosperity in the state.

"The Knights of the Shire in the Parliament of Edward II" (*English Historical Review* for January, 1919) is an attempt to illustrate, by material from five English counties, "the position and importance of the knights of the shire in Parliament, the sort of men who attended with reference to their public life and the place of parliamentary service in it."

Hon. Arthur Meighen writes most interestingly of "Canada's Natural Resources" in the *Canadian Magazine* for February. "Canada's industrial experiments have proceeded chiefly along the line of private initiative and enterprise; in the future they should be state owned and state developed."

The Forum for February, 1919, publishes Hon. A. S. Burleson's "Why We Should Keep the Wires." He supports his claim to this by citing the example of other lands, by urging the better development, the lack of profit, and lack of waste of competition.

Lord Parmoor says, in his "Present War and Peace Settlement" (*Contemporary Review* for January), "America both as a neutral and as a belligerent has consistently supported an effective League of Nations as the chief hope of the new order on international reconstruction. It is not surprising that America should adopt a wider outlook than European countries, which for centuries have been immersed in the race for power, and the desire for territorial aggrandizement. . . . National honor as well as national gratitude should impel us to support in every possible manner the efforts of President Wilson."

"The only alternative to a League of Nations is a system of unstable equilibrium of which the corollary is the continuation of armaments and constant danger of further warfare, and this will not be brooked by the peoples of the world who are resolved to end militarism and its works, even though they should have to wreck political and social fabrics in their effort," says Dr. E. J. Dillon in "The World in Flux" (*Fortnightly Review* for January 15, 1919).

William Gates says in "The Four Governments of Mexico" (*World's Work* for March) the greatest puzzle in the present Mexican situation is, *How has it all come about?* "Here is a government which went into power under the banner of reaction against oppression . . . which owes its presence in the Palace of Mexico to-day to Woodrow Wilson"—and which to-day is avowedly anti-Wilson throughout.

BOOK REVIEWS

EDITED BY PROFESSOR WAYLAND J. CHASE,
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN.

FARRAND, MAX. *The Development of the United States from Colonies to a World Power.* Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1918. Pp. x, 356.

Through a brief presentation of significant and prominent facts, unobscured by traditional views or multiplicity of detail, this volume attempts to interpret and explain the large currents and movements of American development—especially emphasizing economic (industrial and commercial) and intellectual changes and influences. It describes the dynamics of history rather than the mere record of accomplished fact. It treats interesting reasons and consequences, the real meaning of evolutions, the larger threads and relations of cause and effect. It was written "in the hope of rendering a service to those whose interest in American history has been recently stimulated." Its purpose has been accomplished with simplicity, clearness and accuracy.

Necessarily, such a brief general interpretive sketch must omit much which should have been included in a more comprehensive treatment. It should prove interesting to the general reader, and also useful as a supplementary text in a general introductory course in American history.

It expresses the new vitalizing spirit and the new point of view which has been gradually finding its way into the study and interpretation of American history since the appearance of the earlier historical writings of McMaster and Roosevelt, and especially since the appearance of Prof. F. J.

Turner's "The Influence of the Frontier" in 1893. For the views which it expresses, the author recognizes a peculiar obligation to Professor Turner.

Considerable attention is given to the influence of the West, and adaptability to changing conditions. The author regards the distinctive American trait of adaptability as a product of frontier life rather than an original quality. To frontier conditions he also attributes the fact that the expansion of democracy was accomplished by protection of property rights and the encouragement of capital. He asserts that any political motives which may have been involved in Douglas' Kansas-Nebraska bill were subordinate to the main purpose of railroad extension.

In sixteen chapters the author classifies by periods, and compresses into small compass the chief historic movements and features of American history, particularly stressing changes and adjustments to meet new conditions—beginning with the aims and methods of colonization, and closing with the new forces and incidents affecting the emergence of America as a world power. A brief but choice bibliography follows each chapter.

For the student of politics, two of the most interesting later chapters are "Business and Politics" and "The Second Generation," treating the conditions and results of the material interests and exploitation, which absorbed the energies of the American people after the Civil War, and the necessary development of government supervision and control after 1887. In the latter chapter the author expresses appreciation of the work of Roosevelt as the "leader of the reformers," and also of the leadership of Wilson as a positive reformer in "an unequalled record of legislative achievement . . . strengthening federal authority at the expense of local governments, contrary to Jeffersonian theories of democracy."

In the final chapter on the "United States as a World Power," the author considers that the American Open-door Policy probably prevented the dismemberment of China, finds it "hard to condemn what was done in Panama," apparently approves the recent American assumption of larger responsibilities in the guardianship of protectorates in the Caribbean, and points with pride to Wilson's later leadership in meeting a great world emergency and in the formulation of issues of peace for the world.

J. M. CALLAHAN.

CHITWOOD, OLIVER PERRY. *The Immediate Causes of the Great War.* Revised edition. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1918. Pp. xvi, 270. \$1.50.

In its first edition this book was reviewed in our issue of November, 1917, and for both high school pupils and the general reader it has proved to be one of the most serviceable brief treatments of its subject. In this third printing there has been some revision because of new evidence, but no important statement has been modified materially. The book's value has been enhanced much, however, by the addition of three chapters dealing with our country's entrance into the war. This new material, like most of the rest of the book, was written principally from government documents, and footnote references are given to these sources. Both school and public libraries will find the little book of much service.

WOODSON, CARTER GODWIN. *A Century of Negro Migration.* Washington, D. C., 1918. Pp. vii, 221. \$1.10.

This study by the editor of the *Journal of Negro History* (who is also the author of "The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861") brings together many facts already known, but hitherto unavailable because widely scattered in place

and in publication. The author in his preface disavows any intention of making a complete or an exhaustive study; he aims "rather to direct attention to this new phase of Negro American life which will doubtless prove to be the most significant event in our local history since the Civil War."

Beginning with a chapter concerned largely with the Ordinance of 1787 and its effect upon the attitude of settlers in the Northwest Territory toward the Negro slave, Doctor Woodson presents in successive chapters the migration out of the South from 1787 to 1918. He has a wealth of illustration, has in footnotes referred his reader to the material of which he has made use, and has by two maps and a diagram vivified and visualized his text. He has, moreover, a good and unusually complete critical bibliography, the whole made available by an index. Anyone who is studying or teaching the history of the United States must make use of this volume for the subject and the field which it covers.

It is to be regretted that a study so good and detached on the whole should at times reflect (quite unnecessarily) a bias which, while it is easy to understand, the sympathetic reader must nevertheless regret. Such lapses are rare; but Doctor Woodson has had too good training to allow himself to fall into a habit which might, in time, detract from his studies and their really great value.

LOIS K. M. ROSENBERY.

University of Wisconsin.

WALSH, CORREA MOYLAN. *The Climax of Civilization*. New York: Sturgis & Walton Co., 1917. Pp. vii, 150. \$1.25, net.

This curious little volume is the introduction to two larger works on socialism and feminism. The author believes in the cyclical theory of history. According to this theory, states are like plants or animals; they have their time of growth, their climax or period of highest culture, their gradual decline, their ultimate decay, unless—and here the analogy seems to fail—aroused by some means to run a new cycle.

Prior to our own day, the author maintains, there have been two grand cycles of civilization; first, the ancient civilization which flourished in the Nile valley and in Mesopotamia; second, the civilization which, at a later date, developed in the Mediterranean basin. We are now living in the third grand cycle of human progress, and, apparently, are on the verge of its climax or even at the beginning of its decline. Indeed, the author holds that many of the symptoms of decay which led to the destruction of the ancient oriental civilizations and the downfall of the Greco-Roman culture have already appeared. Chief among the evils which threaten us are socialism and feminism, the latter having its most virulent manifestation in the woman suffrage movement. We are urged to shun these two evils "with all our might." Socialism is dangerous to society, because it "seeks to level out natural distinctions . . . without regard to merit any more than to chance"; woman suffrage is a menace because it involves "the equalization of women with men." These two movements "being contrary to nature, could only lead to deterioration" (pages 142-143).

In view of the foregoing statements no surprise will be aroused by the closing words in the preface: "The whole series is addressed more to men than to women, and certainly not to children." To paraphrase the testimonial Lincoln gave on one occasion, "Those who like this sort of book will like this sort of book."

HOWARD C. HILL.

University of Chicago High School.

GAUSS, CHRISTIAN. *Why We Went to War*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1918. Pp. xi, 386. \$1.50.

This book was intended for consumption while we were still at war, and, of course, would have been more timely had it appeared then, but it will be a valuable addition to the growing body of literature on this subject. In view of the fact that many feel that the new Germany is but the old Germany in new garb, that the German people are still mad, Professor Gauss's interpretation of the German mind is interesting. He lays the crime of the World War at the feet of the German people, led, of course, by the avaricious rulers of that ill-fated country. "But what of the good fellows we used to know, the docile, blue-eyed, fair-haired, German Michel, who loved his pipe and his bowl and his fiddlers three? . . . As the coin of the realm they have gone out of circulation. The government has cut a new die." The German people will not revolt. They have been schooled to follow their leaders implicitly and to believe that "God has changed his mind and has decided that henceforth the Prussian and not the peacemakers shall inherit the earth." We are not fighting the inner organization of the Prussian aristocracy, but their outward purpose. "We are not fighting autocracy, we are fighting international absolutism. . . . The German type of mind is anachronistic, feudal." To the Prussian, the people do not compose the state. It is something higher and more powerful. "Its life is force, and it must continually increase its force. This force is the army. With this army it must realize itself." The Prussian state, "to be venerated on earth as a real God," is supreme in Prussia and the world. "There can be no league of nations by which it can be fettered or bound." The Prussian does not "love evil for its own bitter sake. To him Prussia and the war that makes her glory are the highest good on earth. This fanaticism, this mysticism, we are fighting."

After the introductory chapter, "Fundamental Antagonisms," the author chronicles the events leading up to the war, including a study of the legal points involved. The various efforts to secure peace are discussed.

Professor Gauss introduces himself as a descendant of South German parentage who has "inherited a dislike and distrust of the Prussian." Much of his material has been drawn from German sources, and frequent use has been made of the publications of the Committee on Public Information. In an appendix is presented much source material, consisting of letters, speeches, and state papers bearing on the subject. Mr. Gauss has written in a very attractive style and a dry humor makes the book delightful reading.

WM. H. HATHAWAY.

Riverside High School, Milwaukee, Wis.

THE STORY OF SOME FRENCH REFUGEES AND THEIR "AZILUM," 1793-1800. By Louise Welles Murray, Past Historian Tioga Point Chapter; member National Committee for the Preservation of Historical Spots and Records, N. S. D. A. R. Second edition. Athens, Pa., 1917. Pp. vii, 154. \$3.00.

Stories of early American pioneer life have a peculiar charm for us. We are all familiar with the sturdy New England Pilgrims, with the hospitable Virginia planters, and with Evangeline's band of sorrowing Acadians, but the most curious, most romantic attempt at colonization has escaped us, and might have disappeared altogether into oblivion but for the long-continued, careful research work of Mrs. Murray in the production of this unique volume. The first edition appeared in 1903. This new edition is about twice the size of the former, and contains much new

material. The book is a detailed account of the attempt to establish a refuge in our new western Republic for the French Royalists who fled from France in 1793 to escape being guillotined by Robespierre and the Terrorists, and for the planters who fled from Santo Domingo during the slave insurrections there. The chief promoter of the enterprise, the man who largely financed the land company which was formed, was the Viscount de Noailles, then living as a plain business man in Philadelphia, but the very same young nobleman who in a burst of generous-hearted enthusiasm had during the famous all-night session of the Constituent Assembly on August 4, 1789, made the motion to abolish at one stroke all feudal rights and privileges. The company formed under his direction purchased about two thousand acres of land along the upper reaches of the Susquehanna, near what is now Wyalusing, Pa., about seventy-five miles above Wilkes-Barre, then a frontier settlement. This remote spot was purposely chosen since it was the fond wish of the refugees that the imprisoned Queen, Maria Antoinette, might be spirited away to join them. Their attempt thus marks one of our most definite and interesting connections with the French Revolution, and on that account ought to be more widely known.

As an experiment in colonization, also, it is as thoroughly characteristic of its authors as it is unique in our annals. These ladies and gentlemen from the most splendid court in Europe looked with scorn on the rude, hastily built houses of the "Yankee" settlers. Even their cattle, fed with "turnips, gourds, and straw of Indian corn" they condemned as of "poor breed." They would begin aright, and not lose their "quality" even in the wilderness. Accordingly, they spent vast sums on roads—which still remain. They laid out a town generously planned with wide streets and beautiful trees. "The Yankees" they said, "seemed to hate trees." Around a central square they built shops of various sorts and perhaps a chapel—at least the Bishop of Baltimore blessed the altar stones for one. Their houses were marvels of log architecture, carefully hewn, sheathed inside with smooth boards, put on with nails. The windows had glass and dormer roofs of "lead sheet." "La Grande Maison," designed for the Queen, was the largest log house ever built in America, eighty-four feet long and sixty feet wide, two stories in height. Some of the others were almost as large. But, alas! they had not yet learned the hard lesson that in pioneering the amenities must be sacrificed to the necessities. Even at the end of the second year each of the settlers had scarcely enough land cleared to support a cow—of whatever breed. The clearing of the land purchased for two dollars an acre had cost them thirty dollars an acre in hired labor, supplies and provisions still had to be brought up the river from Wilkes-Barre, seventy-five miles away. Their vast sums of money had melted away, and business failure menaced them. Therefore, most of them welcomed Napoleon's proclamation of amnesty, disposed of their holdings as best they could, and returned to France. By 1800 only a few scattered families remained. Some of their descendants still reside in the neighborhood.

Although the "colony" was thus a failure, we view the attempt with deep interest and sympathy. In some ways the "Yankee" settlers might have imitated them to their own advantage and happiness. Their friendships also connect with this region of upper Pennsylvania some of the most famous personages in history. Among their visitors were Talleyrand, whom it is difficult indeed to imagine dressed in a woodsman's suit with a gun over his shoulder, the Duke de la Rochefoucault Liancourt, General Ternant, and the Orleanist princes, the future Louis Philippe, and his two younger brothers.

The records of this curious experiment were widely scat-

tered both here and abroad. Some of them were mere fragments buried in masses of as yet unused manuscript material. A large part of them were in private libraries. Mrs. Murray has been indefatigable in collecting and arranging them. She has not only written an interesting narrative from them, but has reproduced entire, some of them in facsimile, the more important documents. There are pages of old account books, successive charters of the land company, deeds, conveyances of stock, genealogical tables, and many letters. The critical historian can get an entire account of the colony from the documents alone. They add valuable source material to a working library.

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TAPPAN, EVA MARCH. *Our European Ancestors*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1918. Pp. 263. 76 cents.

This introduction to United States history seems designed for the sixth grade in general conformance with the recommendations of the Committee of Eight of the American Historical Association. Its first chapter enquires who the early immigrants to our country were and what they started with. Then follow two chapters devoted to the topic, "The Greeks and what we have learned from them," and two more treating of what the Romans learned from the Greeks and what they have taught us. Under the general heading, "The heirs of the Romans," are five chapters on Europe in the Middle Ages, followed by one, linking the west with the east in that period through accounts of pilgrimages, crusades and commerce. The discovery of the western world is developed in four chapters, and the European rivalries which influenced conquest and colonization in five more. Each chapter is followed by study suggestions, for the most part in the form of a dozen questions, more or less, and about a half dozen topics as suggestions for written work. These suggestions are well thought out and offer real aid. Illustrations, generally good, abound, as do adequate maps.

JONES, HENRY WARE. *Safe and Unsafe Democracy*. A Commentary on Political Administration in the American Commonwealths. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1918. Pp. xiii, 500. \$2.00.

In these days of almost hysterical examination of democracy it is useful to look into the accomplishment which lies behind a title like that which Mr. Jones has given to this book. The author's purpose is to present a new political philosophy, and he so distrusts the work of his predecessors that he is unable (page 11) to refer to their work either for terminology or for argument. He is going wholly "on his own." Yet he seems to have embarked on the sea of political controversy without having matured either his thought or his literary style. His book is not dangerous, because few will read it; but the young teacher should be warned that it is not a sample of the work political scientists are doing in their effort to differentiate safe from unsafe democracy; or, to speak more accurately, true from false democracy. Democracy is safe, for it is the expression of enlightened human nature. All other government is the result of special privilege, and so is temporary. There is no unsafe democracy. EDGAR DAWSON.

Hunter College of the City of New York.

STODDARD, LOTHROP, AND FRANK GLENN. *Stakes of the War. Summary of Various Problems, Claims and Interests of the Nations at the Peace Table*. New York: The Century Co., 1918. Pp. xiv, 377. \$2.50.

OGG, FREDERIC A., AND BEARD, CHARLES A. *National Governments and the World War*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1919. Pp. viii, 603. \$2.50.

GIDDINGS, FRANKLIN HENRY. *The Responsible State, A Re-examination of Fundamental Political Doctrines in the Light of World War and the Menace of Anarchism*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1918. Pp. xi, 107. \$1.00.

Here are three scholarly and practical books for him who would consider the results of the war on political thought and institutions. But they are not of interest merely for the moment; they go to the fundamentals; they are as useful for the student as for the general reader.

"Stakes of the War" is, in the words of Mr. Taft, "not an argumentative or contentious work. It takes no side.

It is a book of ready reference." The purpose of the author seems to have been to answer questions of fact. To quote Mr. Taft again, "It sets forth in a concise and readable form the relevant facts in respect to every country whose condition is likely to be the subject of a consideration of the powers who shall make the treaty of peace for the great war and construct the machinery for the maintenance of future peace." It might be called a syllabus with many maps and selective bibliographies. The following topical headings may illustrate the method of treatment: Where Alsace-Lorraine is Located; Territorial Units Involved; Different Races in Alsace-Lorraine; Who Controlled Alsace-Lorraine before the War; Germany's Interests in Alsace-Lorraine; France's Interests in Alsace-Lorraine, with such sub-headings for the last as political, economic, strategic, racial, cultural, and religious. A similar treatment is found of such widely different countries as Poland, Macedonia, Egypt, and Persia. The book does not deal with the great countries which will make the peace, but with the territories and peoples that form the stakes of interna-

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tional arrangements, the small nations whose future is to be determined.

"National Governments and the World War" deals with the peoples who have waged the war and the governments through which they have acted. First, the United States is treated in Part I; then the allied nations, Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, in Part II; the government of the Teutonic states in Part III; and in Part IV, two chapters discuss the subject of political reconstruction in international affairs. The book "deals with comparative government and undertakes to show what the heritage and genius of the principal peoples lately engaged in the World War meant in the shaping of contemporary political institutions and ideas. It seeks also to describe the great changes wrought in governmental organization and procedure during the war, and to point out the major political problems that remain for settlement during the early years of peace," say the authors in their preface. Both of the authors are so well known to all students of government that it is unnecessary to give assurance of the accuracy and adequacy of the work they have done. They have given to the college teacher a convenient textbook and to the general reader an authoritative review of recent political conditions and movements.

"The Responsible State" is a little volume in which Professor Giddings seems to have painted a miniature of his political and social philosophy. It may be well to quote his summary of his equipment to discuss the fundamental problems of social life. "As professor of political science I taught the orthodox theory of the state. As professor subsequently of sociology, somewhat severely conceived as a study statistical in method, and in content bordering on psychology and on history, I have increasingly felt the unreality of Teutonic political philosophy, while as an editorial writer . . . I have been compelled to take account of momentous happenings in a world wider than the academic." Professor Giddings really discusses in this little volume the stakes of the war, those which lie behind the changes of territory and the chance political allegiance of dependent peoples. The war has been fought to make the world safe for democracy, to make it possible for democracy to grow; but what is democracy? The author strives to differentiate this concept from that of anarchy, accepting the Jeffersonian demand for a government which gives to "the aristocracy of virtue and talent" an opportunity to serve under responsible representative institutions.

EDGAR DAWSON.

Hunter College of the City of New York.

TAPPAN, EVA MARCH. *The Little Book of the War*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1918. Pp. 138. 60 cents.

In ten chapters are set forth in simple terms the immediate background and causes of the war, the entrance of the various allied nations and the steps by which they prepared for war, modern methods of warfare, accounts by years of the fighting in 1914, 1915, 1916, the troubles of neutrals, our country's entrance into the conflict, and the crumbling of Russia. The narrative contains much more than accounts of campaigns; enlivening and illuminating description of the various activities and agencies which our allies and we have utilized in organizing society for war make up much of the book. It is designed for seventh and eighth grades and junior high school classes for which it is very well adapted. An appendix gives President Wilson's peace terms as presented in his message of January 8, 1918, and in his speeches of the following February 11, July 4 and September 27. Six maps and three illustrations are provided.

BEAZLEY, RAYMOND; FORBES, NEVILL; BIRKETT, G. A. *Russia: From the Varangians to the Bolsheviks*. Oxford, 1918. Pp. 601. \$4.25, net.

This is a companion volume to that on the history of the Balkans, to which Nevill Forbes was also a contributor.

After the introduction by Ernest Barker, Professor Beazley takes up in three chapters the history of Russia from the "foundations through the period of Ivan the Great," to which eighty pages are devoted. The early struggles of Lithuania as well as of Russia itself are described, the Germans in Russia are not neglected, while the rise and fall of Kiev, the republic of Novgorod, the Tartars and their conquest of Russia and the rise of Moscow are all briefly treated. The second part, approximately half the book, by Mr. Forbes, contains the story of Russia from the accession of Basil III in 1505 through the reign of Catherine the Great, the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of Russian history with the emphasis upon Peter and Catherine, including particularly the Turkish wars and the partitions of Poland. If more space seems to be devoted to Theodore, Michael, Alexis and other inferior rulers it is the fault of the headings to the chapters rather than to the material under them, since under these headings much is given concerning Russian internal and external development, the church, the policy toward foreign influences, the people and constitutional progress, all of which properly should be stressed in any study of the period. Mr. Birkett begins his task with Paul, and has at his disposal about two hundred pages for nineteenth and twentieth century Russia, bringing us down not, strictly speaking, "to the Bolsheviks," but to the abdication of the Grand Duke Michael on March 16, 1917.

This proportion is calculated to give the larger amount of space to the later events, but to do so without omitting the adequate treatment of topics belonging to past centuries which are vital to an understanding of Russian development up to the present. It is carefully arranged to give all essential facts and their due interpretation. As it is the best one-volume work upon Russian history now available in English, the reviewer would have no hesitancy about using it in college classes as a textbook, in high school as a required reference.

There is a well planned system of sketch maps which illustrate the Russian lands to 1250, the external growth of Muscovy (two maps, from 1500 to 1800), the Partitions of Poland (four), European Russia in the nineteenth century, the Russian conquest of the Caucasus and the racial map of Russia. The execution is not entirely up to the conception, however, one of them being somewhat confused in the lettering. There are no page references and the bibliography is brief, thirty-seven authors with practically no comment except upon the earliest. The index is adequate and the chronological table of events which covers twelve pages, should prove useful in elementary classes. There is also a genealogical table of the Tsars from Ivan III to Nicholas II. One must commend the excellent topical division of the text, though, in the narrative particularly, one might find facts too thickly packed to the page while admitting the readability of the volume.

The transliteration table following the excellent introduction is to be commended in such a book, since it paves the way for an acquaintance with Russian and Polish personages and places which is eminently desirable at the present time and which can hardly be secured without the knowledge that such a table will supply.

The reader from the western world who studies this book is likely to be most impressed by the story of the Russian foundations for democratic freedom and by the facts which

tell of the long-ago German penetration, commercial, economic, intellectual and political, into Russian affairs. On the other hand, there is nothing startlingly new in the study of Russian origins or early Russian orientation toward Constantinople. Space forbids citing every instance, but it does seem as if the author had endeavored to give the reader the benefit of the most recent researches and the most ripened scholarship without entangling him in conflicting theories and disputed questions.

ARTHUR I. ANDREWS.

REEVES, FRANCIS B. *Russia, Then and Now, 1892-1917. My Mission to Russia During the Famine of 1892-1917, with Data Bearing Upon the Russia of To-day.* New York and London: G. P. Putnam Sons, 1917. Pp. 186. \$1.50.

This book is of decidedly trivial character. One of the chapters concerns the Russian famine of 1891-1892, but the treatment is superficial. From chapters two to eight, inclusive, the personal reminiscences of the author follow each other with poems thickly interspersed. Statistics long since out-of-date are given with some general information of little importance about Russian dynasties. Quotations from various persons are numerous. The chapter on Russia's Jewish people is mainly filled with an interview of one Jewish leader with Tolstoi. That on Russia's religion not only gives us nothing new, but speaks of many things concerning which we already know much. The chapters on Russia's great revolution and "what they saw in Russia after Vodka left" are written by Miss Winteringer. The last chapter tells nothing authoritative about this "teetotal Russia" it pretends to discuss. The appendices contain a very good study of the resources of Russia by Mr. E. K. Reynolds and others, and are of some slight use from the economic standpoint. The postscript contains a letter from Mr. Wharton Barker and editorials from the *New York Globe* and *Independent*, preceded by a few sentences from the author of the book. There is nothing in any of these communications which should detain the serious reader upon Russian conditions. There is no index. The illustrations, while plentiful, are of the most trite character in most cases. A large number of them have been reproduced in other publications long since.

A. I. A.

Reports from the Historical Field

Teachers of history and civics who desire suggestions on the teaching of after-the-war patriotism may obtain suggestions, advice and helpful pamphlets from Miss Etta V. Leighton, civic secretary of the National Security League, 19 West Forty-fourth Street, New York City.

F. G. Franklin, Ph.D. (Chicago), after nine years as Professor of History and Political Science in Albany College, has been made head of the Department of Social Science in Willamette University. He has been at work in the latter institution since October 1. He is the author of "The Legislative History of Naturalization in the United States."

The New York Conference of History Teachers met at Hunter College, New York City, on Saturday, March 15, 1919. After introductory remarks by the chairman, Miss Florence E. Stryker, the following topic was discussed, "New Emphasis in History Teaching." The speakers were Dr. Charles A. Beard, Dr. Richard H. Tierney, and Dr. Daniel C. Knowlton. Among those who took part in the

general discussion were Miss Mabel Skinner and Mr. Robert I. Adriance. The New York Conference is a branch of the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland.

ALABAMA HISTORY TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION.

A meeting of the Alabama History Teachers' Association, a branch of the Alabama Educational Association, will be held at Mobile on Friday, April 4, at two o'clock and six o'clock. The following program has been arranged:

FRIDAY AFTERNOON.

1. Pedagogical.
 - (a) The Problem Method in History and Civics.
T. H. Napier, Livingston.
 - (b) The Socialized Recitation in History and Civics.
2. Symposium.
 - The History of History Teaching in Alabama.
Dr. George Petrie, Auburn.
H. H. Holmes, Daphne.
Mrs. Susan K. Vaughn, Florence.
3. Round Table Conference.
 - How the War will Affect the Teaching of History and Civics.
Frank L. Grove, Mobile (Principal).
4. Business Session.

FRIDAY EVENING DINNER.

- Dr. George Petrie, Auburn, Toastmaster.
- A Hundred Years of Alabama History.
 1. Mobile's Contribution to Alabama History.
Dr. Erwin Craighead, Mobile.
 2. A Hundred Years of Trouble for the Teacher.
Superintendent P. W. Hodges, Dothan.
 3. How Can Our Association Help the Teacher of Our State's History. (Round Table.)
 4. High Points in These Hundred Years.
Dr. Thomas M. Owen, Montgomery.

The officers of the Association are: John B. Clark, Secretary State Board of Examiners, Department of Education, President. D. G. Chase, Head of History Department, Birmingham High School, Secretary.

"AMERICA, MY COUNTRY."

The words of a new national anthem entitled, "America, My Country," have been prepared by Jens K. Grondahl, and the music composed by E. F. Maetzold. The anthem which follows is copyrighted by *Daily Republican*, Red Wing, Minn.:

America, my country, I come at thy call;
I plight thee my troth and I give thee my all;
In peace or in war I am wed to thy weal—
I'll carry thy flag thru the fire and the steel.
Unsullied it floats o'er our peace-loving race,
On sea nor on land shall it suffer disgrace;
In rev'rence I kneel at sweet liberty's shrine:
America, my country, command, I am thine.

America, my country, brave souls gave thee birth—
They yearned for a haven of freedom on earth;
And when thy proud flag to the winds was unfurled,
There came to thy shores the oppressed of the world.
Thy milk and thy honey flow freely for all—
Who takes of thy bounty shall come at thy call;
Who quaffs of thy nectar of freedom shall say:
America, my country, command, I obey!

America, my country, now come is thy hour—
The Lord of hosts counts on thy courage and power;

Humanity pleads for the strength of thy hand,
Lest Liberty perish on sea and on land.
Thou guardian of freedom, thou keeper of right,
When liberty bleeds we may trust in thy might,
Divine right of kings or our freedom must fall—
America, my country, I come at thy call!

CHORUS:

America, my country, I answer thy call,
That freedom may live and that tyrants may fall;
I owe thee my all and my all will I give—
I do and I die that America may live.

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AMERICAN HISTORY.

- Dean, Thomas. *Journal; a voyage to Indiana in 1817*. Indianapolis: Ind. Hist. Soc. 274-345 pp. 50 cents.
Dillon, Philip R. *American anniversaries*. N. Y.: P. R. Dillon Pub. Co. 349 pp. \$2.50.
Embank, Louis B. *Morgan's Raid in Indiana*. Indianapolis: Ind. Hist. Soc. 133-183 pp. 50 cents.
Flippin, Percy Scott. *The royal government in Virginia, 1624-1775*. N. Y.: Longmans. 393 pp. 16 pp. bibls. \$3.00, net.
Forbes, Alexander. *California; a history of Upper and Lower California from their first discovery to the present time*. [Reprint from original edition of 1839.] San Francisco: T. C. Russell. \$7.50.
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Treaty of Peace, May 30, 1814; the Holy Alliance of September 26, 1815; and the Constitution of the League of Nations, Proposed February 14, 1919

There are here presented three highly important historical documents, the first two illustrative of the diplomacy of 1814-1815, and the last illustrative of world thought a century later.

The full text of the definitive treaty of peace of May 30, 1814, and of its secret and additional articles is given. Many of the provisions are petty, some were changed shortly afterwards at Vienna, and some possessed only a temporary or technical value. But they are printed entire in order to illustrate the spirit of the rulers of 1814. There is no mention anywhere in the document of the rights of the people; large and small territories are shifted around without regard to any principle of "self-determination." The whole document shows secret diplomacy and monarchical institutions at their worst.

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The text of the Constitution of the League of Nations is evidence that we are living in another world from that of 1814. It contains no platitudes, but it does present a definite form of world organization based upon popular governments. At the time of writing, the constitution of the league is under severe criticism, and it seems evident that some modifications will be made in it. Even admitting that it is defective in certain respects, a comparison with the two documents of 1814 and 1815 will show what an enormous advance has been made within the last century.

The text of the treaty of 1814, together with the notes, is taken from Edward Hertslet's "The Map of Europe by Treaty" (London, 1875); the text of the Holy Alliance is from the University of Pennsylvania "Translations and Reprints," Vol. I, No. 3.

DEFINITIVE TREATY of Peace between Great Britain, etc., (Austria, Portugal, Prussia, Russia, Spain, Sweden), and France. Signed at Paris, 30th May, 1814.¹

(Ratifications exchanged at London, 17th June, 1814.)

(Separate Treaties containing the same stipulations, *verbatim*, were concluded, on the same day, between France and Austria, Portugal,² Prussia, Russia, and Sweden; and on the 20th July, 1814, between France and Spain.)

ART. TABLE.

Preamble.

1. Peace and Friendship.
2. Limits of *France*, as in 1792.
3. Increase of *French Territory*, on side of *Belgium*, *Germany*, and *Italy*, Fortress of *Landau* retained by *France*. Frontier of the *Rhine*. *Geneva*. *Monaco*. *Avignon*. *Comitat Venaissin*. *Comte de Montbeliard*. Fortifications. Private Property on the Frontiers. Boundary Commissions. Maps.
4. Communications with *Geneva*. *Versoy Road*.
5. Navigation of the *Rhine*, and of other *Rivers*.
6. Territory and Sovereignty of *Holland*. Federation of *Germany*. Independence of *Switzerland*. Sovereign States of *Italy*.
7. Sovereignty of *Malta*.
8. Restoration by Great Britain of *French Colonies*, Fisheries, Factories, and Establishments. Cession to Great Britain of *Tobago*, *St. Lucia*, *Isle of France (Mauritius)*, *Rodrigues*, and *Les Sechelles*. Cession of Part of *St. Domingo* to Spain.
9. Restoration by Sweden of *Guadaloupe* to France.
10. Restoration by Portugal of *French Guiana* to France. Mediation of Great Britain; Boundaries of *French Guiana*.
11. Fortresses, &c., in Colonies restored to France.
12. Commerce, &c., of France in *British India*. French Fortifications and Garrisons in *India*.
13. French right of Fishery at *Newfoundland*, and *Gulf of St. Lawrence*.
14. Periods of Restoration of *French Colonies*, &c.

¹ This Treaty was confirmed by the Definitive Treaty of 20th November, 1815, Art. XI.

² The Article in the Portuguese Treaty relating to the restitution of *Guiana* to France was modified by Arts. CVI and CVII of the Vienna Congress Treaty of 9th June, 1815, and by the Convention between France and Portugal of 28th August, 1817.

15. Division of Ships of War, Arsenals, &c., between France and the Allies, Dutch Fleet in the Texel excepted. Return of Workmen, Seamen, &c., to France. Port of Antwerp.
16. Persons and Property in Countries restored, and Debts of Private Individuals.
17. Right of Emigration.
18. Renunciation of Government Claims for Contracts, &c.
19. Liquidation of Private Claims, by France.
20. Commissioners of Claims.
21. Debts in Countries no longer belonging to France.
22. Pensions, &c., of Persons no longer French Subjects.
23. Securities.
24. *Caisse d'Amortissement*.
25. *Caisse de Service, Caisse d'Amortissement, &c.*
26. Termination of Pensions.
27. Guarantee of Purchasers of National Domains.
28. Abolition of *Droits d'Aubaine, de Detraction, &c.*, in Countries lately incorporated with France.
29. Restitution by France of Foreign Bonds and Deeds.
30. Sums due for Public Works in Departments detached from France.
31. Archives, Maps, &c., of ceded Countries.
32. Plenipotentiaries to meet in General Congress at Vienna.
33. Ratifications.

(ENGLISH VERSION.³)

In the Name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity.

His Majesty, the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Allies on the one part, and his Majesty the King of France and Navarre on the other part, animated by an equal desire to terminate the long agitations of Europe, and the sufferings of Mankind, by a permanent Peace, founded upon a just repartition of force between its States, and containing in its Stipulations the pledge of its durability; and His Britannic Majesty, together with his Allies, being unwilling to require of France, now that, replaced under the paternal Government of Her Kings, she offers the assurance of security and stability to Europe, the conditions and guarantees which they had with regret demanded from her former Government, Their said Majesties have named Plenipotentiaries to discuss, settle, and sign a Treaty of Peace and Amity; namely,

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Right Honourable Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh, one of His said Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Member of Parliament, Colonel of the Londonderry Regiment of Militia, and his Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, &c., &c., &c.; the Right Honourable George Gordon, Earl of Aberdeen, Viscount Formartine, Lord Haddo, Methlic, Tarvis, and Kellie, &c., one of the Sixteen Peers representing the Peerage of

Scotland in the House of Lords, Knight of His Majesty's Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of the Thistle, his Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty; the Right Honourable William Shaw Cathcart, Viscount Cathcart, Baron Cathcart and Greenock, one of His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Knight of his Order of the Thistle and of the Orders of Russia, General in His Majesty's Army, and his Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias; and the Honourable Sir Charles William Stewart, Knight of His Majesty's Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Member of Parliament, Lieutenant-General in His Majesty's Army, Knight of the Prussian Orders of the Black and Red Eagle, and of several others, and his Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to His Majesty the King of Prussia.

And His Majesty the King of France and Navarre, Charles Maurice de Talleyrand Perigord, Prince of Benevent, Great Eagle of the Legion of Honour, Knight of the Black and Red Eagle of Prussia, Grand Cross of the Order of Leopold of Austria, Knight of the Russian Order of St. Andrew, and His said Majesty's Minister and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs;

Who having exchanged their Full Powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following Articles:

PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP.

ART. 1. There shall be from this day forward perpetual Peace and Friendship between His Britannic Majesty and his Allies on the one part, and His Majesty the King of France and Navarre on the other, their Heirs and Successors, their Dominions and Subjects, respectively.

The High Contracting Parties shall devote their best attention to maintain, not only between themselves, but, inasmuch as depends upon them, between all the States of Europe, that harmony and good understanding which are so necessary for their tranquillity.

LIMITS OF FRANCE, AS IN 1792.⁴

ART. II. The Kingdom of France retains its limits entire, as they existed on the 1st of January, 1792. It shall further receive the increase of Territory comprised within the line established by the following Article:

INCREASE OF FRENCH TERRITORY ON SIDE OF BELGIUM, GERMANY, AND ITALY.⁴

ART. III. On the side of Belgium, Germany,⁵ and Italy,⁶ the Ancient Frontiers shall be re-established as

⁴ This boundary was altered by the Definitive Treaty between the 5 Allied Powers and France of 20th November, 1815.

⁵ This boundary was altered by the Preliminary Treaty of Peace between France and Germany of 26th February, 1871.

⁶ See Separate and Secret Articles. This boundary was altered by the Treaty between France and Sardinia of 24th March, 1860.

³ For French version, see "State Papers," vol. i, p. 151.

they existed the 1st of January, 1792, extending from the North Sea, between Dunkirk and Nieuport, to the Mediterranean between Cagnes and Nice, with the following modifications:

1. In the Department of Jemappes, the Cantons of Dour, Merbes-le-Chateau, Beaumont, and Chimay, shall belong to France; where the line of demarcation comes in contact with the Canton of Dour, it shall pass between that Canton and those of Boussu and Paturage, and likewise further on it shall pass between the Canton of Merbes-le-Chateau and those of Binch and Thuin.

2. In the Department of Sambre and Meuse, the Cantons of Walcourt, Florennes, Beauraing, and Gedinne, shall belong to France; where the demarcation reaches that Department it shall follow the line which separates the said Cantons from the Department of Jemappes, and from the remaining Cantons of the Department of Sambre and Meuse.

3. In the Department of the Moselle, the new demarcation, at the point where it diverges from the old line of Frontier, shall be formed by a line to be drawn from Perle to Fremersdorff, and by the limit which separates the Canton of Tholey from the remaining Cantons of the said Department of the Moselle.

4. In the Department of LaSarra, the Cantons of Saarbruck and Arneval shall continue to belong to France, as likewise the portion of the Canton of Lebach which is situated to the south of a line drawn along the confines of the Villages of Herchenbach, Ueberhofen, Hilsbach, and Hall (leaving these different places out of the French Frontier), to the point where, in the neighborhood of Querselle (which place belongs to France), the line which separates the Cantons of Arneval and Ottweiler reaches that which separates the Cantons of Arneval and Lebach. The Frontier on this side shall be formed by the line above described, and afterwards by that which separates the Canton of Arneval from that of Bliescastel.

FORTRESS OF LANDAU TO BE RETAINED BY FRANCE.⁷

5. The Fortress of Landau having, before the year 1792, formed an insulated point in Germany, France retains beyond her Frontiers a portion of the Departments of Mount Tonnerre and of the Lower Rhine, for the purpose of uniting the said Fortress and its radius to the rest of the Kingdom. The new demarcation from the point in the neighborhood of Obersteinbach (which place is left out of the limits of France)

where the Boundary between the Department of the Moselle and that of Mount Tonnerre reaches the Department of the Lower Rhine, shall follow the line which separates the Cantons of Wissenbourg and Bergzabern (on the side of France) from the Cantons of Permasens, Dahn, and Answeiler (on the side of Germany), as far as the point near the Village of Vollmersheim, where that line touches the ancient radius of the Fortress of Landau. From this radius, which remains as it was in 1792, the new Frontier shall follow the arm of the River de la Queich, which on leaving the said radius of Queichheim (that place remaining to France) flows near the Villages of Merienheim, Knittelsheim, and Belheim (these places also belonging to France) to the Rhine, which from thence shall continue to form the boundary of France and Germany.

FRONTIER OF THE RHINE.

The main stream (*Thalweg*) of the Rhine shall constitute the Frontier; provided, however, that the changes which may hereafter take place in the course of that river shall not affect the property of the Islands. The right of possession in these Islands shall be re-established as it existed at the signature of the Treaty of Luneville.⁸

6. In the Department of the Doubs, the Frontier shall be so regulated as to commence above the Rancioniere near Locle, and follow the Crest of the Jura between the Cerneux-Pequignot and the Village of Fontenelles, as far as the peak of that mountain, situated about 7,000 or 8,000 feet to the north-west of the Village of LaBrevine, where it shall again fall in with the ancient Boundary of France.

GENEVA.⁹

7. In the Department of the Lemman, the Frontiers between the French Territory, the Pays de Vaud, and the different portions of the Territory of the Republic of Geneva (which is to form part of Switzerland) remain as they were before the incorporation of Geneva with France. But the Cantons of Frangy and of St. Julien (with the exception of the districts situated to the north of a line drawn from the point where the River of La Laitre enters the Territory of Geneva near Chancy, following the confines of Sesequin, Laconex, and Seseneuve, which shall remain out of the limits of France), the Canton of Reignier (with the exception of the portion to the east of a line which follows the confines of the Muraz, Bussy, Pers, and Cornier, which shall be out of the French limits), and the Canton of La Roche (with the exception of the places called La Roche and Armanoy, with their districts) shall remain to France. The Frontier shall follow the limits of these different Cantons, and the line which separates the Districts continuing to belong to France, from those which she does not retain.

8. In the Department of Mont-Blanc, France acquires the Sub-Prefecture of Chambéry (with the

⁷ This fortress was restored to Germany by Art. I of the Definitive Treaty of 20th November, 1815. By Art. II of the Treaty between Austria and Bavaria of 16th April, 1816, Landau was given to Bavaria. By Art. II of the Treaty between the 4 Allied Powers of 20th July, 1819, Bavaria was confirmed in the possession of Landau; and by Art. III of the same Treaty, the fortress of Landau was declared to be one of the fortresses of the Germanic Confederation. On the 6th July, 1869, a Protocol was signed between North Germany, Bavaria, &c., respecting the Joint Property of the Movable Material of War in the Federal Fortresses of Landau, &c.

⁸ (9th February, 1801.)

⁹ See Separate and Secret Articles. See also Art. LXXXV of the Vienna Congress Treaty of 9th June, 1815.

exception of the Cantons of L'Hopital, St. Pierre d' Albigny, La Rocette, and Montmelian), and the Sub-Prefecture of Annecy (with the exception of the portion of the Canton of Faverges, situated to the east of a line passing between Ourechaise and Marlens on the side of France, and Marthod and Ugine on the opposite side, and which afterwards follows the crest of the mountains as far as the Frontier of the Canton of Thones); this line, together with the limit of the Cantons before mentioned, shall on this side form the new Frontier.

On the side of the Pyrenees, the Frontiers between the two Kingdoms of France and Spain remain such as they were on the 1st of January, 1792, and a Joint Commission shall be named on the part of the two Crowns for the purpose of finally determining the line.

MONACO.¹⁰

France on her part renounces all rights of Sovereignty, *Suzerainete*, and of possession, over all the Countries, Districts, Towns, and places situated beyond the Frontier above described, the Principality of Monaco being replaced on the same footing on which it stood before the 1st of January, 1792.

AVIGNON. COMITAT VENAISIN. COMTE DE MONTBELIARD.

The Allied Powers assure to France the possession of the Principality of Avignon, of the Comitatus Venaissin, of the Comte of Montbeliard, together with the several insulated Territories which formerly belonged to Germany, comprehended within the Frontier above described, whether they have been incorporated with France before or after the 1st of January, 1792.¹¹

FORTIFICATIONS. PRIVATE PROPERTY ON THE FRONTIERS.

The Powers reserve to themselves, reciprocally, the complete right to fortify any point in their respective States which they may judge necessary for their security.¹²

To prevent all injury to Private Property, and protect, according to the most liberal principles, the property of Individuals domiciliated on the Frontiers, there shall be named, by each of the States bordering on France, Commissioners who shall proceed, conjointly with French Commissioners, to the delineation of the respective Boundaries.

BOUNDARY COMMISSIONS. MAPS.

As soon as the Commissioners shall have performed their task, Maps shall be drawn, signed by the re-

spective Commissioners, and posts shall be placed to point out the reciprocal Boundaries.

COMMUNICATIONS WITH GENEVA. VERSOY ROAD.

ART. IV. To secure the communications of the Town of Geneva with other parts of the Swiss Territory situate on the Lake, France consents that the Road by Versoy shall be common to the two Countries. The respective Governments shall amicably arrange the means for preventing smuggling, regulating the posts, and maintaining the said Road.¹³

NAVIGATION OF THE RHINE; AND OF OTHER RIVERS.

ART. V. The Navigation of the Rhine, from the point where it becomes navigable unto the sea, and *vice versa*, shall be free, so that it can be interdicted to no one:—and at the future Congress attention shall be paid to the establishment of the principles according to which the duties to be raised by the States bordering on the Rhine may be regulated in the mode the most impartial and most favourable to the commerce of all Nations.

The future Congress, with a view to facilitate the communication between Nations, and continually to render them less strangers to each other, shall likewise examine and determine in what manner the above provisions can be extended to other Rivers which, in their navigable course, separate or traverse different States.¹⁴

TERRITORY AND SOVEREIGNTY OF HOLLAND.¹⁵

ART. VI. Holland, placed under the Sovereignty of the House of Orange shall receive an increase of Territory.¹⁶ The title and exercise of that Sovereignty shall not in any case belong to a Prince wearing or destined to wear a Foreign Crown.

FEDERATION OF GERMANY.¹⁷

The States of Germany shall be independent, and united by a Federative Bond.

INDEPENDENCE OF SWITZERLAND.¹⁸

Switzerland, Independent, shall continue to govern herself.

SOVEREIGN STATES OF ITALY.¹⁹

Italy, beyond the limits of the countries which are to revert to Austria, shall be composed of Sovereign States.

¹⁰ See Vienna Congress Treaty of 9th June, 1815, Art. LXXIX.

¹¹ See Regulations of the Congress of Vienna of 11th March, 1815.

¹² See Vienna Congress Treaty of 9th June, 1815, Art. LXVI.

¹³ See Secret Article III, p. 19.

¹⁴ See Vienna Congress Treaty of 9th June, 1815, Arts. LIII to LXIV and LXVII.

¹⁵ See Declaration of the 8 Powers of 20th March, 1815; Vienna Congress Treaty of 9th June, 1815; and Act of the 5 Powers of 20th November, 1815.

¹⁶ See Vienna Congress Treaty of 9th June, 1815, Art. XCV.

¹⁰ It was declared by the Definitive Treaty of 20th November, 1815, that the relations thus established between France and Monaco should cease, and that the same relations should exist between that Principality and Sardinia. By the Treaty between France and Monaco of 2nd February, 1861, Mentone and Roquebrune were ceded to France.

¹¹ See Protest of the Pope, 12th June, 1815.

¹² See Vienna Congress Treaty of 9th June, 1815, Art. XC.

SOVEREIGNTY OF MALTA.

ART. VII. The Island of Malta and its Dependencies shall belong in full right and Sovereignty to His Britannic Majesty.

RESTORATION BY GREAT BRITAIN OF FRENCH COLONIES, FISHERIES, FACTORIES AND ESTABLISHMENTS. CESSION OF TOBAGO, ST. LUCIA, ISLE OF FRANCE (MAURITIUS), RODRIGUES AND LES SECHELLES TO GREAT BRITAIN; AND OF PART OF ST. DOMINGO TO SPAIN.

ART. VIII. His Britannic Majesty, stipulating for himself and his Allies, engages to restore to His Most Christian Majesty, within the term which shall be hereafter fixed, the Colonies, Fisheries, Factories, and Establishments of every kind which were possessed by France on the 1st of January, 1792, in the Seas and on the Continents of America, Africa, and Asia; with the exception, however, of the Islands of Tobago and St. Lucia, and of the Isle of France and its Dependencies, especially Rodrigues and Les Sechelles, which several Colonies and Possessions His Most Christian Majesty cedes in full right and Sovereignty to His Britannic Majesty, and also the portion of St. Domingo ceded to France by the Treaty of Basle,²⁰ and which His Most Christian Majesty restores in full right and Sovereignty to His Catholic Majesty.

RESTORATION BY SWEDEN OF GUADALOUPE TO FRANCE.

ART. IX. His Majesty the King of Sweden and Norway, in virtue of the arrangements stipulated with the Allies,²¹ and in execution of the preceding Article, consents that the Island of Guadeloupe be restored to His Most Christian Majesty, and given up all the rights he may have acquired over that Island.

RESTORATION BY PORTUGAL OF FRENCH GUIANA TO FRANCE.²²

ART. X. Her Most Faithful Majesty, in virtue of the arrangements stipulated with her Allies, and in execution of the VIIIth Article, engages to restore French Guiana as it existed on the 1st of January, 1792, to His Most Christian Majesty, within the term hereafter fixed.

MEDIATION OF GREAT BRITAIN; BOUNDARIES OF FRENCH GUIANA.

The renewal of the dispute which existed at that period on the subject of the Frontier, being the effect of this Stipulation, it is agreed that the dispute shall be terminated by a friendly arrangement between the two Courts, under the Mediation of His Britannic Majesty.²³

²⁰ Annulled.

²¹ See Treaty between Great Britain and Sweden of 13th August, 1814.

²² This Article was annulled by Art. CVI of the Vienna Congress Treaty of 9th June, 1815, when another Article was substituted for it.

²³ See Treaty of 28th August, 1817.

FORTRESSES, &c., IN COLONIES RESTORED TO FRANCE.

ART. XI. The Places and Forts in those Colonies and Settlements, which by virtue of the VIIIth, IXth, and Xth Articles, are to be restored to His Most Christian Majesty, shall be given up in the state in which they may be at the moment of the signature of the present Treaty.

COMMERCE, &c., OF FRANCE IN BRITISH INDIA.

ART. XII. His Britannic Majesty guarantees to the subjects of His Most Christian Majesty the same facilities, privileges, and protection, with respect to Commerce, and the security of their Persons and Property within the limits of the British Sovereignty on the Continent of India, as are now, or shall be granted to the most favoured Nations.

FRENCH FORTIFICATIONS AND GARRISONS IN INDIA.

His Most Christian Majesty, on his part, having nothing more at heart than the perpetual duration of Peace between the two Crowns of England and of France, and wishing to do his utmost to avoid anything which might affect their mutual good understanding, engages not to erect any Fortifications in the establishments which are to be restored to him within the limits of the British Sovereignty upon the Continent of India, and only to place in those establishments the number of Troops necessary for the maintenance of the Police.

FRENCH RIGHT OF FISHERY AT NEWFOUNDLAND AND GULF OF ST. LAWRENCE.

ART. XIII. The French right of Fishery upon the Great Bank of Newfoundland, upon the Coasts of the Island of that name, and of the adjacent Islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, shall be replaced upon the footing on which it stood in 1792.

PERIODS OF RESTORATION OF FRENCH COLONIES, &c.

ART. XIV. Those Colonies, Factories, and Establishments, which are to be restored to His Most Christian Majesty by His Britannic Majesty or his Allies in the Northern Seas, or in the Seas on the Continents of America and Africa, shall be given up within the three months, and those which are beyond the Cape of Good Hope within the six months which follow the Ratification of the Present Treaty.

DIVISION OF SHIPS OF WAR, ARSENALS, &c., BETWEEN FRANCE AND THE ALLIES.

ART. XV. The High Contracting Parties having, by the IVth Article of the Convention of the 23rd of April last, reserved to themselves the right of disposing, in the present Definitive Treaty of Peace, of the Armaments and Ships of War, armed and unarmed, which may be found in the Maritime Places restored by the IIInd Article of the said Convention, it is agreed, that the said Vessels and Ships of War, armed and unarmed, together with the Naval Ordnance and Naval Stores, and all materials for building and equipment, shall be divided between France and the Countries where the said Places are situated, in the proportion of two-thirds for France, and one-third for the

Power to whom the said Places shall belong. The Ships and Vessels on the stocks, which shall not be launched within six weeks after the signature of the present Treaty, shall be considered as materials, and after being broken up shall be, as such, divided in the same proportions.

RETURN OF WORKMEN, SEAMEN, &c., TO FRANCE.

Commissioners shall be named on both sides, to settle the division, and draw up a statement of the same, and Passports or Safe Conducts shall be granted by the Allied Powers for the purpose of securing the return into France of the Workmen, Seamen, and others in the employment of France.

DUTCH FLEET IN THE TEXEL EXCEPTED.

The Vessels and Arsenals existing in the Maritime Places which were already in the power of the Allies before the 23rd April, and the Vessels and Arsenals which belonged to Holland, and especially the Fleet in the Texel, are not comprised in the above Stipulations.

The French Government engages to withdraw, or to cause to be sold, everything which shall belong to it by the above Stipulations, within the space of three months after the division shall have been carried into effect.

PORT OF ANTWERP.²⁴

Antwerp shall for the future be solely a Commercial Port.

PERSONS AND PROPERTY IN COUNTRIES RESTORED, AND DEBTS OF PRIVATE INDIVIDUALS.

ART. XVI. The High Contracting Parties, desirous to bury in entire oblivion the dissensions which have agitated Europe, declare and promise that no Individual, of whatever rank or condition he may be, in the Countries restored and ceded by the present Treaty, shall be prosecuted, disturbed or molested, in his Person or Property, under any pretext whatsoever, either on account of his conduct or political opinions, his attachment either to any of the Contracting Parties, or to any Government which has ceased to exist, or for any other reason, except for Debts contracted towards individuals, or acts posterior to the date of the present Treaty.²⁵

RIGHT OF EMIGRATION.

ART. XVII. The native Inhabitants and Aliens of whatever Nation and condition they may be, in those Countries which are to change Sovereigns, as well in virtue of the present Treaty as of the subsequent arrangements to which it may give rise, shall be allowed a period of six years, reckoning from the exchange of the Ratifications, for the purpose of disposing of their property, if they think fit, whether it be acquired before or during the present War, and retiring to whatever Country they may choose.

²⁴ See also Treaty between the 5 Powers and Netherlands of 19th April, 1839, Art. XIV.

²⁵ See Vienna Congress Treaty of 9th June, 1815, Art. CIII.

RENUNCIATION OF GOVERNMENT CLAIMS FOR CONTRACTS, &c.²⁶

ART. XVIII. The Allied Powers desiring to offer His Most Christian Majesty a new proof of their anxiety to arrest, as far as in them lies, the bad consequences of the disastrous epoch fortunately terminated by the present Peace, renounce all the sums which their Governments claim from France, whether on account of Contracts, Supplies, or any other advances whatsoever to the French Government, during the different Wars which have taken place since 1792.

His Most Christian Majesty, on his part, renounces every claim which he might bring forward against the Allied Powers on the same grounds. In execution of this Article, the High Contracting Parties engage reciprocally to deliver up all titles, obligations, and documents, which relate to the Debts they may have mutually cancelled.

LIQUIDATION OF PRIVATE CLAIMS BY FRANCE.

ART. XIX. The French Government engages to liquidate and pay all Debts it may be found to owe in Countries beyond its own Territory, on account of Contracts, or other formal engagements between Individuals, or Private Establishments, and the French Authorities, as well for Supplies, as in satisfaction of legal engagements.²⁷

COMMISSIONERS OF CLAIMS.

ART. XX. The High Contracting Parties, immediately after the exchange of the Ratification of the present treaty shall name Commissioners to direct and superintend the execution of the whole of the Stipulations contained in the XVIIIth and XIXth Articles.²⁸ These Commissioners shall undertake the examination of the Claims referred to in the preceding Article, the liquidation of the Sums claimed, and the consideration of the manner in which the French Government may propose to pay them. They shall also be charged with the delivery of the Titles, Bonds, and the Documents relating to the Debts which the High Contracting Parties mutually cancel, so that the approval of the result of their labours shall complete that reciprocal renunciation.

DEBTS IN COUNTRIES NO LONGER BELONGING TO FRANCE.

ART. XXI. The Debts which in their origin were specially mortgaged upon the Countries no longer belonging to France, or were contracted for the support of their internal administration, shall remain at the charge of the said Countries. Such of those Debts as have been converted into Inscriptions in the Great Book of the Public Debt of France, shall accordingly be accounted for with the French Government after the 22nd of December, 1813.

²⁶ See Separate and Secret Articles.

²⁷ See Definitive Treaty of 20th November, 1815; Conventions of 20th November, 1815; Convention of 25th April, 1818; and Additional Article of 4th July, 1818.

²⁸ The British Commissioners were: The Hon. Charles Bagot, Mr. Colin A. Mackenzie, and Mr. A. E. Impey.

The Deeds of all those Debts which have been prepared for inscription, and have not yet been entered, shall be delivered to the Governments of the respective Countries. The statement of all these Debts shall be drawn up and settled by a Joint Commission.

PENSIONS, &C., OF PERSONS NO LONGER FRENCH SUBJECTS.

ART. XXII. The French Government shall remain charged with the reimbursement of all sums paid by the subjects of the said Countries into the French Coffers, whether under the denomination of Surety, Deposit, or Consignment.²⁹

In like manner all French Subjects, employed in the service of the said Countries, who have paid sums under the denomination of Surety, Deposit, or Consignment, into their respective Territories, shall be faithfully reimbursed.

SECURITIES.

ART. XXIII. The Functionaries holding situations requiring Securities, who are not charged with the expenditure of public money, shall be reimbursed at Paris, with the interest by fifths and by the year, dating from the signature of the present Treaty.

With respect to those who are accountable, this reimbursement shall commence, at the latest, six months after the presentation of their Accounts, except only in cases of malversation. A Copy of the last Account shall be transmitted to the Government of their Countries, to serve for their information and guidance.

CAISSE D'AMORTISSEMENT.

ART. XXIV. The Judicial Deposits and Consignments upon the "*Caisse d'Amortissement*," in the execution of the Law of 28 Nivose, year 13 (18th January, 1805), and which belong to the Inhabitants of the Countries France ceases to possess, shall, within the space of one year from the exchange of the Ratifications of the present Treaty, be placed in the hands of the Authorities of the said Countries, with the exception of those Deposits and Consignments interesting French subjects, which last will remain in the "*Caisse d'Amortissement*," and will only be given up on the production of the vouchers resulting from the decisions of competent Authorities.

CAISSE DE SERVICE, CAISSE D'AMORTISSEMENT, &C.

ART. XXV. The Funds deposited by the Corporations and Public Establishments in the "*Caisse de Service*" and in the "*Caisse d'Amortissement*," or other "*Caisses*," of the French Government, shall be reimbursed by fifths, payable from year to year; to commence from the date of the present Treaty; deducting the advances which have taken place, and subject to such regular charges as may have been brought forward against these Funds by the Creditors of the said Corporations and the said Public Establishments.

TERMINATION OF PENSIONS.

ART. XXVI. From the first day of January, 1814, the French Government shall cease to be charged with the payment of Pensions, Civil, Military, and Ecclesiastical, pensions for retirement, and allowances for reduction, to any Individual who shall cease to be a French Subject.

GUARANTEE OF PURCHASERS OF NATIONAL DOMAINS.

ART. XXVII. National Domains acquired for valuable considerations by French Subjects in the late Departments of Belgium, and of the left bank of the Rhine and the Alps, beyond the ancient limits of France, and which now cease to belong to her, shall be guaranteed to the purchasers.

ABOLITION OF DROITS D'AUBAINE, DE DETRACTION, &C., IN COUNTRIES LATELY INCORPORATED WITH FRANCE.

ART. XXVIII. The abolition of the "*Droits d'Aubaine*," "*de Detraction*," and other duties of the same nature, in the Countries which have been formerly incorporated, or which have reciprocally made that stipulation with France, shall be expressly maintained.

RESTITUTION BY FRANCE OF FOREIGN BONDS AND DEEDS.

ART. XXIX. The French Government engages to restore all Bonds, and other Deeds which may have been seized in the Provinces occupied by the French Armies or Administrations; and in cases where such restitution cannot be effected, these Bonds and Deeds become and continue void.

SUMS DUE FOR PUBLIC WORKS IN DEPARTMENTS DETACHED FROM FRANCE.

ART. XXX. The Sums which shall be due for all Works of public utility not yet finished, or finished after the 31st of December, 1812, whether on the Rhine or in the Departments detached from France by the present Treaty, shall be placed to the account of the future Possessors of the Territory, and shall be paid by the Commission charged with the liquidation of the Debts of that Country.

ARCHIVES, MAPS, &C., OF CEDED COUNTRIES.

ART. XXXI. All Archives, Maps, Plans, and Documents whatever, belonging to the ceded Countries, or respecting their Administration, shall be faithfully given up at the same time with the said Countries; or if that should be impossible, within a period not exceeding six months after the cession of the Countries themselves.

This stipulation applies to the Archives, Maps, and Plates, which may have been carried away from the Countries during their temporary occupation of the different Armies.

PLENIPOTENTIARIES TO MEET IN GENERAL CONGRESS AT VIENNA.

ART. XXXII. All the Powers engaged on either side in the present War, shall within the space of two

²⁹ See Convention between the 5 Powers of 25th April, 1818, Art. IV.

months, send Plenipotentiaries to Vienna, for the purpose of regulating, in General Congress, the Arrangements which are to complete the provisions of the present Treaty.³⁰

RATIFICATIONS.

ART. XXXIII. The present Treaty shall be ratified, and the Ratifications shall be exchanged within the period of 15 days, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed and affixed to it the Seals of their Arms.

Done at Paris, the 30th of May, in the year of Our Lord, 1814.

(L. S.)	CASTLEREAGH,
(L. S.)	ABERDEEN,
(L. S.)	CATHCART,
(L. S.)	CHARLES STEWART, Lieut.-General.
for Great Britain.	
(L. S.)	LE PRINCE DE BENEVENT,
for France.	
(L. S.)	LE PRINCE DE METTERNICH,
(L. S.)	LE COMTE DE STADION,
for Austria.	
(L. S.)	COMTE DE FUNCHAL,
for Portugal.	
(L. S.)	BARON DE HARDENBURG,
(L. S.)	BARON DE HUMBOLDT,
for Prussia.	
(L. S.)	COMTE DE RASOUMOFFSKI,
(L. S.)	COMTE DE NESSELRODE,
for Russia.	
(L. S.)	M. DOMINGOS,
(L. S.)	ANTONIO DE SOUZA CONTINHO,
for Spain.	
(L. S.)	COMTE C. DE STEDINGK,
(L. S.)	BR. G. DE WETTERSTEDT,
for Sweden.	

ADDITIONAL, SEPARATE, AND SECRET ARTICLES TO THE TREATY OF 30th MAY, 1814.

SEPARATE AND SECRET ARTICLES. *Great Britain (Austria, Prussia, and Russia), and France. Paris, 30th May, 1814.*

ART.	TABLE.
1.	<i>Balance of Power in Europe.</i>
2.	<i>Austrian and Sardinian Territories in Italy. Port of Genoa. Guarantee of Switzerland.</i>
3.	<i>Territory of Holland. Dutch Frontiers. Navigation of the Scheldt.</i>
4.	<i>Territories of Prussia, Holland, &c.</i>
5.	<i>Renunciation by France of Claims for Endowments, Donations, Revenues of the Legion of Honour, &c.</i>
6.	<i>Bank of Hamburg.</i>

³⁰ The Plenipotentiaries met again in Congress at Vienna on the 22nd September, 1814, and closed their labors on the 10th June, 1815.

(English version)

BALANCE OF POWER IN EUROPE.

ART. I. The disposal of the Territories given up by His Most Christian Majesty, under the IIIrd Article of the Public Treaty, and the relations from whence a system of real and permanent Balance of Power in Europe is to be derived, shall be regulated at the Congress upon the principles determined upon by the Allied Powers among themselves, and according to the general provisions contained in the following Articles.

AUSTRIAN AND SARDINIAN TERRITORIES IN ITALY.³¹

ART. II. The Possessions of His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty in Italy, shall be bounded by the Po, the Tessino, and the Lago Maggiore. The King of Sardinia shall return to the possession of his ancient Dominions, with the exception of that part of Savoy secured to France by the IIIrd Article of the present Treaty. His Majesty shall receive an increase of Territory from the State of Genoa.

PORT OF GENOA.

The Port of Genoa shall continue to be a Free Port; the Powers reserving to themselves the right of making arrangements upon this point with the King of Sardinia.³²

GUARANTEE OF SWITZERLAND.³³

France shall acknowledge and guarantee, conjointly with the Allied Powers, and on the same footing, the political organization which Switzerland shall adopt under the auspices of the said Allied Powers, and according to the basis already agreed upon with them.

TERRITORY OF HOLLAND.³⁴ DUTCH FRONTIERS.

ART. III. The establishment of a just Balance of Power in Europe requiring that Holland should be so constituted as to be enabled to support her Independence through her own resources, the Countries comprised between the Sea, the Frontiers of France, such as they are defined by the present Treaty, and the Meuse, shall be given up forever to Holland.

The Frontiers upon the right bank of the Meuse shall be regulated according to the military convenience of Holland, and her neighbours.

NAVIGATION OF THE SCHELDT.

The freedom of the Navigation of the Scheldt³⁵

³¹ See Vienna Congress Treaty of 9th June, 1815, Arts. LXXX, LXXXV, LXXXVI, LXXXVIII, LXXXIX, and CXVIII.

³² See Treaty between the 5 Powers and Sardinia of 20th May, 1815, Annex IV.

³³ See Declaration of the 8 Powers of 20th March, 1815, and Act of the 5 Powers of 20th November, 1815.

³⁴ Altered by the Treaty between the 5 Powers and Belgium of 15th November, 1831; and the Treaties of 19th April, 1839.

³⁵ See the Regulations of March, 1815, and the Vienna Congress Treaty of 9th June, 1815, Art. CXVII. By the Treaties of 16th July and 3rd August, 1863, the Scheldt Toll was redeemed.

shall be established upon the same principle which has regulated the Navigation of the Rhine, in the Vth Article of the present Treaty.

TERRITORY OF PRUSSIA, HOLLAND, &c.

ART. IV. The German Territories upon the left bank of the Rhine, which have been united to France since 1792, shall contribute to the aggrandizement of Holland, and shall be further applied to compensate Prussia, and other German States.

RENUNCIATION BY FRANCE OF CLAIMS FOR ENDOWMENTS, DONATIONS, REVENUES OF THE LEGION OF HONOUR, &c.

ART. V. The Renunciation of the French Government contained in the XVIIIth Article extends especially to all Claims which might be brought forward against the Allied Powers, under the head of Endowments and Donations, Revenues of the Legion of Honour, Senatorships, Pensions, and other charges of the like kind.

BANK OF HAMBURGH.

ART. VI. The French Government having offered by the Secret Article of the Convention of the 23rd April, (1814) to make search after, and to make every effort to recover the Funds of the Bank of Hamburgh, engages to set on foot the most severe scrutiny to discover the said Funds, and to pursue those who may be found to have detained them.³⁶

The present Separate and Secret Articles shall have the same force and validity as if they were inserted, word for word, in the Treaty Patent of this day.

They shall be ratified, and the Ratifications shall be exchanged at the same time.

In witness whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed and affixed to them the Seals of their Arms.

Done at Paris, the 30th day of May, in the year of Our Lord, 1814.

(L. S.) CASTLEREAGH.

(L. S.) ABERDEEN.

(L. S.) CATHCART.

(L. S.) CHARLES STEWART, Lieut.-General.

(L. S.) LE PRINCE DE BENEVENT.

ADDITIONAL ARTICLES. *Great Britain and France.* *Paris, 30th May, 1814.*

ART. TABLE.

1. Abolition of *French Slave Trade*.
Colonial Slave Trade.
3. } Expenses of Prisoners of War.
2. }
4. Removal of Sequestrations.
Claims of British Subjects.
5. Commercial Relations.

(Ratifications exchanged at London, 17th June, 1814.)

(English version)

ABOLITION OF FRENCH SLAVE TRADE. COLONIAL SLAVE TRADE.

ART. I. His Most Christian Majesty, concurring without reserve in the sentiments of His Britannic Majesty, with respect to a description of Traffic repugnant to the principles of natural justice and of the enlightened age in which we live, engages to unite all his efforts to those of His Britannic Majesty, at the approaching Congress, to induce all the Powers of Christendom to decree the abolition of the Slave Trade, so that the said Trade shall cease universally,³⁷ as it shall cease definitively, under any circumstances, on the part of the French Government, in the course of five years; and that, during the said period, no Slave Merchant shall import or sell Slaves, except in the Colonies of the State of which he is a subject.

EXPENSES OF PRISONERS OF WAR.

ART. II. The British and French Governments shall name, without delay, Commissioners to liquidate the accounts of their respective expenses for the maintenance of Prisoners of War, in order to determine the manner of paying the balance which shall appear in favour of the one or the other of the two Powers.

ART. III. The respective Prisoners of War, before their departure from the place of their detention, shall be obliged to discharge the Private Debts they may have contracted, or shall at least give sufficient security for the amount.

REMOVAL OF SEQUESTRATIONS.

ART. IV. Immediately after the Ratification of the present Treaty of Peace, the Sequesters, which since the year 1792 may have been laid on the Funds, Revenues, Debts, or any other effects of the High Contracting Parties or their Subjects shall be taken off.

CLAIMS OF BRITISH SUBJECTS.³⁸

The Commissioners mentioned in the IIInd Article shall undertake the examination of the Claims of His Britannic Majesty's Subjects upon the French Government, for the value of the Property, moveable or immoveable, illegally Confiscated by the French Authorities, as also for the total or partial loss of their Debts or other Property, illegally detained under Sequester since the year 1792.

France engages to act towards British Subjects in this respect, in the same spirit of justice which the French Subjects have experienced in Great Britain; and His Britannic Majesty, desiring to concur in the new pledge which the Allied Powers have given to His Most Christian Majesty, or their desire to obliterate every trace of that disastrous epoch so happily terminated by the present Peace, engages on his part,

³⁶ See Convention between the 4 Powers and France of 20th November, 1815, Art. III; and Convention between France and Hamburgh of 27th October, 1816.

³⁷ See Declaration of the 8 Powers of 8th February, 1815.

³⁸ See Conventions between Great Britain and France of 20th November, 1815, and 25th April, 1818.

when complete justice shall be rendered to his Subjects, to renounce the whole amount of the balance which shall appear in his favour for support of the Prisoners of War, so that the Ratification of the Report of the above Commissioners and the discharge of the sums due to British Subjects, as well as the restitution of the effects which shall be proved to belong to them, shall complete the renunciation.

COMMERCIAL RELATIONS.

ART. V. The two High Contracting Parties, desiring to establish the most friendly relations between their respective Subjects, reserve to themselves, and promise to come to a mutual understanding and arrangement, as soon as possible, upon their Commercial Interests, with the view of encouraging and increasing the prosperity of their respective States.

The present Additional Articles shall have the same force and validity as if they were inserted word for word in the Treaty Patent of this day. They shall be ratified, and the Ratifications shall be exchanged at the same time.

In witness whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed and affixed to them the Seals of their Arms.

Done at Paris, the 30th day of May, in the year of Our Lord, 1814.

(L. S.) CASTLEREAGH.

(L. S.) ABERDEEN.

(L. S.) CATHCART.

(L. S.) CHARLES STEWART, Lieut.-General.

(L. S.) LE PRINCE DE BENEVENT.

ADDITIONAL ARTICLE. *Austria and France. Paris, 30th May, 1814.*

SUBJECT.

Annulment of effect of Treaties of 1805 and 1809, and of Decrees against French Subjects in the service of Austria.

(English version.)

Annulment of effect of Treaties of 1805 and 1809, and of Decrees against French Subjects in the service of Austria.

The High Contracting Parties, being desirous to obliterate every trace of the unhappy events which have weighed upon their Countries, have agreed explicitly to annul the effects of the Treaties of 1805³⁹ and 1809,⁴⁰ in so much as they are not already annulled, in fact, by the present Treaty. In consequence of this determination, His Most Christian Majesty promises that the Decrees issued against French Subjects, or reputed French, being, or having been, in the service of His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty, shall remain without effect, as well as the judgments which may have been given in execution of those Decrees.

³⁹ Treaty between Austria and France of 26th December, 1805, annulled.

⁴⁰ Treaty between Austria and France of 14th October, 1809, annulled.

The present Additional Article shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted word for word in the Treaty Patent of this day. It shall be ratified, and the Ratifications shall be exchanged at the same time.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and affixed to it the Seal of their Arms.

Done at Paris, the 30th of May, in the year of our Lord, 1814.

(L. S.) LE PRINCE DE METTERNICH.

(L. S.) LE COMTE DE STADION.

(L. S.) LE PRINCE DE BENEVENT.

ADDITIONAL AND SECRET ARTICLES. *Austria and France.*

1. Payment of *Lorraine Rente*.
2. Delivery of all Acts relating to *German Empire, Belgium, &c.*

(Translation.)

PAYMENT OF LORRAINE RENTE.

ART. I. From the date of the signature of the present Treaty, the payment of the revenue (*rente*) called *Lorraine*, shall continue the same as up to 1791.

DELIVERY OF ALL ACTS RELATING TO GERMAN EMPIRE, BELGIUM, &c.

ART. II. The Court of France engages to deliver to the Commissioners, who shall be appointed for that purpose by the Court of Vienna, all the acts bearing upon the Ancient Empire of Germany, Belgium, and other provinces which have formed part of the Austrian Monarchy, and which have been taken from the Archives of Vienna.

The present Additional and Secret Articles shall have the same force and validity as if they were inserted word for word in the Treaty of this day. They shall be ratified, and the Ratifications thereof shall be exchanged at the same time.

In witness whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed and affixed to them the Seals of their Arms.

(L. S.) LE PRINCE DE BENEVENT.

(L. S.) LE PRINCE DE METTERNICH.

(L. S.) LE COMTE DE STADION.

ADDITIONAL SECRET ARTICLES. *France and Portugal. Paris, 30th May, 1814.*

ART. SUBJECT.

1. Restoration of French Guiana.
2. Claims.
3. Annulment of Treaties of Badajoz and Madrid of 1801, and of Convention of Lisbon of 1804.

(Translation.)

RESTORATION OF FRENCH GUIANA.⁴¹

ART. I. His Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal and of the Algarves, engages and binds him-

⁴¹ See Convention between France and Portugal of 28th August, 1817.

self that those clauses of the Capitulation of French Guiana which shall not have been executed, shall receive at the time of the restitution of that Colony to France, their full and entire fulfilment.

CLAIMS.

ART. II. With reference to the claims which the subjects of one of the Contracting Parties may make on the other, there shall be perfect reciprocity, so that, for every kind of claim, what has been done by one of the two Governments shall be the rule of the other.

ANNULMENT OF TREATIES OF BADAJOZ AND MADRID OF 1801, AND OF CONVENTION OF LISBON OF 1804.

ART. III. Although the Treaties, Conventions, and Acts concluded between the two Contracting Powers before the war, are annulled by the fact of the war, the High Contracting Parties have nevertheless considered it advisable again expressly to declare that the said Treaties, Conventions, and Acts, namely, the Treaties signed at Badajoz and at Madrid in 1801,⁴² and the Convention signed at Lisbon in 1804,⁴³ are null and void so far as they concern France and Portugal, and that they mutually give up all right, and discharge themselves from every obligation which might arise out of them.

The present Additional Articles shall have the same force and validity as if they were word for word inserted in the Treaty Patent of this day. They shall be ratified, and the Ratifications shall be exchanged at the same time.

In witness whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the Seal of their Arms.

Done at Paris, the 30th May, 1814.

(L. S.) LE PRINCE DE BENEVENT.

(L. S.) LE COMTE DE FUNCHAL.

ADDITIONAL ARTICLES. France and Prussia. Paris, 30th May, 1814.

SUBJECT.

Annulment of Treaties since 1795, and of Decrees against French Subjects in the service of Prussia.

(English Version).

Annulment of Treaties since 1795, and of Decrees against French Subjects in the service of Prussia.

Although the Treaty of Peace concluded at Bale, the 5th April, 1795, that of Tilsit of the 9th July, 1807, the Convention of Paris of 20th September, 1808, as well as all the Conventions and Acts whatsoever concluded since the Peace of Bale between Prussia and France, are already annulled in fact by the present Treaty, the High Contracting Parties have nevertheless considered it advisable again expressly to declare that the said Treaties cease to be binding in all their Articles, as well patent as secret, and that

they mutually give up all right, and disengage themselves from every obligation which might arise out of them.

His Most Christian Majesty promises that the Decrees issued against French Subjects, or reputed French, being or having been in the service of His Prussian Majesty, shall remain without effect, as well as the judgments which may have been given in execution of those Decrees.

The present Additional Article shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted word for word in the Treaty Patent of this day. It shall be ratified, and the Ratifications shall be exchanged at the same time.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and affixed to it the Seal of their Arms.

Done at Paris, the 30th of May, in the year of Our Lord, 1814.

(L. S.) CHARLES AUGUSTE BARON DE HARDENBERG.

(L. S.) CHARLES GUILLAUME BARON DE HUMBOLDT.

(L. S.) LE PRINCE DE BENEVENT.

ADDITION ARTICLES. France and Russia. Paris, 30th May, 1814.

SUBJECT.

Pecuniary Claims in the Duchy of Warsaw.

(English version.)

Pecuniary Claims in the Duchy of Warsaw.

The Duchy of Warsaw being under the administration of a Provisional Council, established by Russia, ever since that Country has been occupied by her arms, the two High Contracting Parties have agreed immediately to appoint a special Commission, composed, on both sides, of an equal number of Commissioners, which shall be charged with the examination, liquidation, and all arrangements relative to their reciprocal pretensions.

The present Additional Article shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted word for word in the Treaty Patent of this day. It shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at the same time.

In witness whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and affixed to it the Seal of their Arms.

Done at Paris, the 30th May, in the year of Our Lord, 1814.

(L. S.) ANDRE COMTE DE RASOUMOFFSKY.

(L. S.) CHARLES ROBERT COMTE DE NESSELRODE.

(L. S.) LE PRINCE DE BENEVENT.

ADDITIONAL AND SECRET ARTICLE. France and Sweden. Paris, 30th May, 1814.

SUBJECT.

Union of Norway to Sweden.

(Translation.)

UNION OF NORWAY TO SWEDEN.

His Most Christian Majesty recognises the Union of the Kingdom of Norway to the Kingdom of Sweden

⁴² Treaties between France and Portugal of 6th June, and 29th September, 1801, annulled.

⁴³ Convention between France and Portugal of 19th March, 1804, annulled.

by virtue of its cession to His Swedish Majesty by the Treaty of Kiel.

The present Additional Article shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted word for word in the Treaty Patent of this day. It shall be ratified, and the Ratifications shall be exchanged at the same time.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same and have affixed to it the Seal of their Arms.

Done at Paris, the 30th May, in the year of Our Lord, 1814.

(L. S.) LE PRINCE DE BENEVENT.

(L. S.) C. STEDINGK.

(L. S.) G. BARON DE WETTARSTEDT.

(The Additional Article for the abrogation of the Treaties from 1805 to 1809, as well as the Separate and Secret Articles, are the same as those at pages 18 and 22.)

EXTRACTS FROM TREATY BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND DENMARK. SIGNED AT KIEL, 14TH JANUARY, 1814.

(Translation.)

ART. III. His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland consents to restore to his Danish Majesty all the Possessions and Colonies which have been conquered by the British Arms in this present War, except the Island of Heligoland, which His Britannic Majesty reserves to himself with full and unlimited Sovereignty.

ART. X. Whereas His Danish Majesty, in virtue of the Treaty of Peace this day concluded with His Majesty the King of Sweden, has ceded the Kingdom of Norway to His said Majesty for a certain indemnity provided by Sweden, His Britannic Majesty, who has thus seen his engagements contracted with Sweden in this respect fulfilled, promises in concert with the King of Sweden, to employ his good offices with the Allied Powers, at the General Peace, to obtain for Denmark a proper indemnity for the cession of Norway.

EXTRACT FROM TREATY BETWEEN SWEDEN AND DENMARK. SIGNED AT KIEL, 14TH JANUARY, 1814.

(Translation.)

ART. IV. His Majesty the King of Denmark, as well for himself as for his successors to the Throne and to the Kingdom of Denmark, renounces irrevocably and in perpetuity, in favour of His Majesty the King of Sweden and to his Successors to the Throne and Kingdom of Sweden, to all his rights and titles over the Kingdom of Norway, namely: The Bishoprics and Bailiwicks (steft) hereinafter specified, those of Christiansund, Bergenhus, Aggershuus, and Trondheim, with Nordland and Finmarken, as far as the Frontiers of the Empire of Russia.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ For Correspondence between Great Britain and Norway; between Sweden and Norway; and between Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Denmark, respecting the opposition of Norway to the above arrangements, in June and July, 1814, see "State Papers," vol. i, pp. 1015, 1020, 1295.

THE HOLY ALLIANCE¹

SIGNED AT PARIS, SEPTEMBER 14, 1815.

In the Name of the very Holy and Indivisible Trinity.

Their majesties, the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Russia, in view of the great events which the last three years have brought to pass in Europe and in view especially of the benefits which it has pleased Divine Providence to confer upon those states whose governments have placed their confidence and their hope in Him alone, having reached the profound conviction that the policy of the powers, in their mutual relations, ought to be guided by the sublime truths taught by the eternal religion of God our Saviour, solemnly declare that the present act has no other aim than to manifest to the world their unchangable determination to adopt no other rule of conduct, either in the government of their respective countries or in their political relations with other governments, than the precepts of that holy religion, the precepts of justice, charity and peace. These, far from being applicable exclusively to private life, ought on the contrary directly to control the resolutions of princes and to guide their steps as the sole means of establishing human institutions and of remedying their imperfections. Hence their majesties have agreed upon the following articles:

ARTICLE I.—Conformably to the words of Holy Scripture which command all men to look upon each other as brothers, the three contracting monarchs will continue united by the bonds of a true and indissoluble fraternity, and regarding themselves as compatriots, they will lend aid and assistance to each other on all occasions and in all places, viewing themselves, in their relations to their subjects and to their armies, as fathers of families, they will direct them in that spirit of fraternity by which they are animated, for the protection of religion, peace and justice.

ARTICLE II.—Hence the sole principle of conduct, be it between the said governments or their subjects, shall be that of rendering mutual service, and testifying by unceasing good-will, the mutual affection with which they should be animated. Considering themselves all as members of one great Christian nation, the three allied princes look upon themselves as delegates of Providence called upon to govern three branches of the same family, viz: Austria, Russia and Prussia. They thus confess that the Christian nation, of which they and their people form a part, has in reality no other sovereign than He alone to whom belongs by right the power, for in Him alone are to be found all the treasures of love, of knowledge and of infinite wisdom, that is to say God, our Divine Saviour, Jesus Christ, the word of the most High, the word of life. Their majesties recommend, therefore, to their peoples, as the sole means of enjoying that peace which springs from a good conscience and is alone enduring, to fortify themselves each day in

¹ From University of Pennsylvania Translations and Reprints, Vol. I, No. 3, p. 9.

the principles and practice of those duties which the Divine Saviour has taught to men.

ARTICLE III.—All those powers who wish solemnly to make avowal of the sacred principles which have dictated the present act, and who would recognize how important it is to the happiness of nations, too long agitated, that these truths should hereafter exercise upon human destiny all the influence belonging to them, shall be received into this Holy Alliance with as much cordiality as affection.

Engrossed in three copies and signed at Paris, year of grace 1815, September 14.

Signed { FRANCIS,
FREDERICK WILLIAM,
ALEXANDER,

CONSTITUTION OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Report read at the plenary session of the Interallied Peace Conference, Paris, February 14, 1919, by

WOODROW WILSON,

President of its Commission on the League of Nations, delegate of the United States.

MR. WILSON—Mr. Chairman: I have the honor—and assume it a very great privilege—of reporting in the name of the commission constituted by this conference on the formulation of a plan for the League of Nations. I am happy to say that it is a unanimous report, a unanimous report from the representatives of 14 nations—the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Brazil, China, Czecho-Slovakia, Greece, Poland, Portugal, Rumania and Serbia. I think it will be serviceable and interesting if I may, with your permission, read the document as the only report we have to make.

PREAMBLE

In order to promote international co-operation and to secure international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just and honorable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, the Powers signatory to this covenant adopt this

Constitution of the League of Nations:

ARTICLE I.

EXECUTIVE ORGANS

The action of the high contracting parties under the terms of this covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of a meeting of a Body of Delegates representing the high contracting parties, of meetings at more frequent intervals of an Executive Council, and of a Permanent International Secretariat to be established at the seat of the League.

ARTICLE II.

BODY OF DELEGATES

Meetings of the Body of Delegates shall be held at stated intervals and from time to time as occasion may require, for the purpose of dealing with matters within the sphere of action of the League. Meetings of the Body of Delegates shall be held at the seat of the League or at such other places as may be found convenient, and shall consist of representatives of the high contracting parties. Each of the high contracting parties shall have one vote, but may have not more than three representatives.

ARTICLE III.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

The Executive Council shall consist of representatives of the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, together with representatives of four other states, members of the League. The selection of these four states shall be made by the Body of Delegates on such principles and in such manner as they think fit. Pending the appointments of these representatives of the other states, representatives of (blank left for names) shall be members of the Executive Council.

Meetings of the Council shall be held from time to time as occasion may require and at least once a year at whatever place may be decided on, or failing any such decision, at the seat of the League, and any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world may be dealt with at such meetings.

Invitations shall be sent to any power to attend a meeting of the Council at which such matters directly affecting its interests are to be discussed, and no decision taken at any meeting will be binding on such powers unless so invited.

ARTICLE IV.

MAJORITY VOTE

All matters of procedure at meetings of the Body of Delegates or the Executive Council, including the appointment of committees to investigate particular matters, shall be regulated by the Body of Delegates or the Executive Council and may be decided by a majority of the states represented at the meetings.

The first meeting of the Body of Delegates and of the Executive Council shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America.

ARTICLE V.

PERMANENT SECRETARIAT

The Permanent Secretariat of the League shall be established at (blank), which shall constitute the seat of the League. The Secretariat shall comprise such secretaries and staff as may be required, under the general direction and control of a Secretary General of the League, who shall be chosen by the Executive Council; the Secretariat shall be appointed by the Secretary General, subject to confirmation by the Executive Council.

The Secretary General shall act in that capacity at all meetings of the Body of Delegates, or of the Executive Council.

The expenses of the Secretariat shall be borne by the states members of the League in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union.

ARTICLE VI.

DIPLOMATIC IMMUNITIES

Representatives of the high contracting parties and officials of the League when engaged in the business of the League shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities, and the buildings occupied by the League or its officials or by representatives attending its meetings shall enjoy the benefits of extra-territoriality.

ARTICLE VII.

MEMBERSHIP

Admission to the League of states not signatories to the covenant and not named in the protocol hereto as states to be invited to adhere to the covenant requires the assent of not less than two-thirds of the states represented in the Body of Delegates, and shall be limited to fully self-governing countries, including dominions and colonies.

No state shall be admitted to the League unless it is able to give effective guaranties of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations, and unless it shall conform to such principles as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its naval and military forces and armaments.

ARTICLE VIII.

REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS

The high contracting parties recognize the principle that the maintenance of peace will require the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations having special regard to the geographical situation and circumstances of each state; and the Executive Council shall formulate plans for effecting such reduction.

The Executive Council shall also determine for the consideration and action of the several Governments what military equipment and armament is fair and reasonable in proportion to the scale of forces laid down in the program of disarmament; and these limits, when adopted, shall not be exceeded without the permission of the Executive Council.

The high contracting parties agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war lends itself to grave objections, and direct the Executive Council to advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those countries which are not able to manufacture for themselves the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.

The high contracting parties undertake in no way to conceal from each other the condition of such of their industries as are capable of being adapted to warlike purposes or the scale of their armaments, and agree that there shall be full and frank interchange of information as to their military and naval programs.

ARTICLE IX.

PERMANENT MILITARY COMMISSION

A permanent commission shall be constituted to advise the League on the execution of the provisions of Art. VIII and on military and naval questions generally.

ARTICLE X.

GUARANTIES AGAINST AGGRESSION

The high contracting parties shall undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all states members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression, the Executive Council shall advise upon the means by which the obligation shall be fulfilled.

ARTICLE XI.

ACTION IN CASE OF WAR OR THREAT OF WAR

Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the high contracting parties or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the League, and the high contracting parties reserve the right to take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations.

It is hereby also declared and agreed to be the friendly right of each of the high contracting parties to draw the attention of the Body of Delegates or of the Executive Council to any circumstance affecting international intercourse which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

ARTICLE XII.

DISPUTES TO BE SUBMITTED TO ARBITRATION OR INQUIRY

The high contracting parties agree that, should disputes arise between them which cannot be adjusted by the ordinary processes of diplomacy, they will in no case resort to war without previously submitting the questions and matters involved either to arbitration or to inquiry by the Executive Council and until three months after the award by the arbitrators or a recommendation by the Executive Council; and that they will not ever resort to war as against a member of the League which complies with the award of the arbitrators or the recommendation of the Executive Council.

In any case under this article, the award of the arbitrators shall be made within a reasonable time and the recommendation of the Executive Council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute.

ARTICLE XIII.

ACCEPTANCE OF AWARDS

The high contracting parties agree that whenever any dispute or difficulty shall arise between them which they recognize to be suitable for submission to arbitration and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole matter to arbitration. For this purpose the court of arbitration to which the case is referred shall be the court agreed on by the parties or stipulated in any convention existing between them. The high contracting parties agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered. In the event of any failure to carry out the award the Executive Council shall propose what steps can best be taken to give effect thereto.

ARTICLE XIV.

INTERNATIONAL COURT

The Executive Council shall formulate plans for the establishment of a permanent court of international justice and this court shall, when established, be competent to hear and determine any matter which the parties recognize as suitable for submission to it for arbitration under the foregoing article.

ARTICLE XV.

DISPUTES NOT SUBMITTED TO ARBITRATION

If there should arise between states members of the League any dispute likely to lead to rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration as above, the high contracting parties agree that they will refer the matter to the Executive Council; either party to the dispute may give notice of the existence of the dispute to the Secretary General, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof. For this purpose the parties agree to communicate to the Secretary General, as promptly as possible, statements of their case will all the relevant facts and papers, and the Executive Council may forthwith direct the publication thereof.

Where the efforts of the Council lead to the settlement of the dispute a statement shall be published indicating the nature of the dispute and the terms of settlement, together with such explanation as may be appropriate. If the dispute has not been settled a report by the Council shall be published, setting forth with all necessary facts and explanations the recommendations which the Council think just and proper for the settlement of the dispute.

If the report is unanimously agreed to by the members of the Council other than the parties to the dispute, the high contracting parties agree that they will not go to war with any party which complies with the recommendations, and that, if any party shall refuse so to comply, the Council shall propose measures necessary to give effect to the recommendations. If no such unanimous report can be made, it shall be the duty of the majority and the privilege of the minority to issue statements indicating what they believe to be the facts and containing the reasons which they consider to be just and proper.

Mr. WILSON—I pause to point out that a misconception might arise in connection with one of the sentences I have just read: "if any party shall refuse so to comply, the Council shall propose measures necessary to give effect to the recommendations." A case in point, a purely hypothetical case, is this: Suppose there is in the possession of a particular power a piece of territory or some other substantial thing in dispute, to which it is claimed that it is not entitled. Suppose that the matter is submitted to the Executive Council for recommendation as to the settlement of the dispute, diplomacy having failed, and suppose that the decision is in favor of the party which claims the subject matter of dispute, as against the party which has the subject matter in dispute. Then, if the party in possession of the subject matter in dispute merely sits still and does nothing, it has accepted the decision of the Council, in the sense that it makes no resistance; but something must be done to see that it surrenders the subject matter in dispute.

In such a case, the only case contemplated, it is provided that the Executive Council may then consider what steps will be necessary to oblige the party against whom judgment has been given to comply with the decisions of the Council.

The Executive Council may in any case under this article refer the dispute to the Body of Delegates. The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute, provided that such request must be made within 14 days after the submission of the dispute. In a case referred to the Body of Delegates, all the provisions of this article and of Art. XII relating to the action and powers of the Executive Council shall apply to the action and powers of the Body of Delegates.

ARTICLE XVI.

SANCTIONS

Should any of the high contracting parties break or disregard its covenants under Art. XII, it shall thereby *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all the other members of the League, which hereby undertakes immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking state, and the prevention of all financial, commercial or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking state and the nationals of any other state, whether a member of the League or not.

It shall be the duty of the Executive Council in such case to recommend what effective military or naval force the members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League.

The high contracting parties agree, further, that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which may be taken under this article, in order to minimize the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking state, and that they will afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the high contracting parties who are co-operating to protect the covenants of the League.

ARTICLE XVII.

DISPUTES WITH NON-MEMBERS

In the event of disputes between one state member of the League and another state which is not a member of the League, the high contracting parties agree that the state or states not members of the League shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, upon such conditions as the Executive Council may deem just, and, upon acceptance of any such invitation, the above provisions shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the League.

Upon such invitation being given the Executive Council shall immediately institute an inquiry into the circumstances and merits of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem best and most effectual in the circumstances.

In the event of a power so invited refusing to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purpose of such dispute, and taking any action against a state member of the League which in the case of a state member of the League would constitute a breach of Art. XII, the provisions of Art. XVI shall be applicable as against the state taking such action.

If both parties to the dispute, when so invited, refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purpose of such dispute, the Executive Council may take such action and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the dispute.

ARTICLE XVIII.

TRADE IN AMMUNITION

The high contracting parties agree that the League shall be intrusted with general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest.

ARTICLE XIX.

CONTROL OF COLONIES AND TERRITORIES

To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war ceased to be under the sovereignty of the states which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the wellbeing and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in the constitution of the League.

The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be intrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility, and that tutelage should be exercised by them as mandatories on behalf of the League.

The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions and other similar circumstances.

Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory power until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the mandatory power.

Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory subject to conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience or religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defense of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the League.

There are territories, such as Southwest Africa and certain of the South Pacific Isles, which, owing to the sparseness of their population, or their small size, or their remoteness from the centers of civilization, or their geographical continuity to the mandatory state, and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the mandatory state as integral portions thereof, subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population.

In every case of mandate, the mandatory state shall render to the League an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge.

The degree of authority, control or administration to be exercised by the mandatory state shall, if not previously agreed upon by the high contracting parties in each case, be explicitly defined by the Executive Council in a special act or charter.

The high contracting parties further agree to establish at the seat of the League a mandatory commission to receive and examine the annual reports of the mandatory powers, and to assist the League in insuring the observance of the terms of all mandates.

MR. WILSON—Let me say that before being embodied in this document this was the subject matter of a very careful discussion by representatives of the five greater parties, and that their unanimous conclusion is the matter embodied in this article.

ARTICLE XX.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR BUREAU

The high contracting parties will endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women and children both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and to that end agree to establish a League Permanent Bureau of Labor.

ARTICLE XXI.

FREEDOM OF COMMERCIAL TRANSIT

The high contracting parties agree that provision shall be made through the instrumentality of the League to secure and maintain freedom of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all states members of the League, having in mind, among other things, special arrangements with regard to the necessities of the regions devastated during the war of 1914-1918.

ARTICLE XXII.

INTERNATIONAL BUREAUS

The high contracting parties agree to place under the control of the League all International Bureaus already established by general treaties, if the parties to such treaties consent. Furthermore, they agree that all such International Bureaus to be constituted in future shall be placed under control of the League.

ARTICLE XXIII.

REGISTRATION AND PUBLICATION OF TREATIES

The high contracting parties agree that every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any state member of the League, shall be forthwith registered with the Secretary General and as soon as possible published by him, and that no such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

ARTICLE XXIV.

REVIEW OF TREATIES

It shall be the right of the Body of Delegates from time to time to advise the reconsideration by states members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable, and of international conditions of which the continuance may endanger the peace of the world.

ARTICLE XXV.

ABROGATION OF TREATIES

The high contracting parties severally agree that the present covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations *inter se* which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly engage that they will not hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof. In case any of the powers signatory hereto or subsequently admitted to the League shall, before becoming a party to this covenant, have undertaken any obligations which are inconsistent with the terms of this covenant, it shall be the duty of such power to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.

ARTICLE XXVI.

AMENDMENTS TO COVENANT

Amendments to this covenant will take effect when ratified by the states whose representatives compose the Executive Council and by three fourths of the states whose representatives compose the body of delegates.

MR. WILSON—It gives me pleasure to add to this formal reading of the result of our labors that the character of the discussion which occurred at the sittings of the commission was not only of the most constructive but of the most encouraging sort. It was obvious throughout our discussions that, although there were subjects upon which there were individual differences of judgment, with regard to the method by which our objects should be obtained, there was practically at no point any serious difference of opinion or motive as to the objects which we were seeking. Indeed, while these debates were not made the opportunity for the expression of enthusiasm and sentiments, I think the other members of the commission will agree with me that there was an undertone of high respect and of enthusiasm for the thing we were trying to do, which was heartening throughout every meeting.

It was because we felt that in a way this Conference did intrust unto us the expression of one of its highest and most important purposes, to see to it that the concord of the world in the future with regard to the objects of justice should not be subject to doubt or uncertainty; that the co-operation of the great body of nations should be assured in the maintenance of peace upon terms of honor and of international obligations. The compulsion of that task was constantly upon us, and at no point was there shown the slightest desire to do anything but suggest the best means to accomplish that great object.

There is very great significance, therefore, in the fact that the result was reached unanimously. Fourteen nations were represented, among them all of those powers which for convenience we have called the great powers, and among the rest a representation of the greatest variety of circumstances and interests. So that I think we are justified in saying that the significance of the result, therefore, has the deepest of all meanings, the union of wills in a common purpose, a union of wills which cannot be resisted, and which, I dare say, no nation will run the risk of attempting to resist.

LEAGUE OF SIMPLE STRUCTURE.

Now as to the character of the document. While it has consumed some time to read this document, I think you will see at once that it is very simple, and in nothing so simple as in the structure which it suggests for a League of Nations—a Body of Delegates, an Executive Council and a Permanent Secretariat.

When it came to the question of determining the character of the representation in the Body of Delegates, we were all aware of a feeling which is current throughout the world. Inasmuch as I am stating it in the presence of the official representatives of the various Governments here present, including myself, I may say that there is a universal feeling that the world cannot rest satisfied with merely official guidance. There has reached us through many channels the feeling that if the deliberating body of the League of Nations was merely to be a body of officials representing the various Governments, the peoples of the world would not be sure that some of the mistakes which preoccupied officials had admittedly made might not be repeated. It was impossible to conceive a method or an assembly so large and various as to be really representative of the great body of the peoples of the world, because, as I roughly reckon it, we represent, as we sit around this table, more than twelve hundred million people. You cannot have a representative assembly of 1,200,000,000 people; but if you leave it to each Government to have, if it pleases, one or two or three representatives, though only with a single vote, it may vary its representation from time to time, not only, but it may originate the choice of its several representatives. . . .

VARIETY OF REPRESENTATION.

Therefore, we thought that this was a proper and very prudent concession to the practically universal opinion of plain men, everything that everyone wanted, the door left open to a variety of representation, instead of being confined to a single official body with which they could or might not find themselves in sympathy.

And you will notice that this body has unlimited rights of discussion—I mean of discussion of anything that falls within the field of international relations—and that it is especially agreed that war or international misunderstandings, or anything that may lead to friction or trouble is everybody's business, because it may affect the peace of the world.

And in order to safeguard the popular power, so far as we could, of this representative body, it is provided, you will notice, that when a subject is submitted it is not to arbitration, but to discussion by the Executive Council. It can, upon the initiative of either of the parties to the dispute, be drawn out of the Executive Council to the larger forum of the general Body of Delegates, because through this instrument we are depending primarily and chiefly upon one great force, and this is the moral force of the public opinion of the world—the pleasing and clarifying and compelling influences of publicity; so that intrigues can no longer have their coverts, so that designs that are sinister can at any time be drawn into the open, so that those things that are destroyed by the light may be promptly destroyed by the overwhelming light of the universal expression of the condemnation of the world.

Armed force is in the background in this program, but it is in the background; and if the moral force of the world will not suffice, the physical force of the world shall. But that is the last resort, because this is intended as a constitution of peace, not as a league of war.

VEHICLE OF LIFE, NOT STRAITJACKET.

The simplicity of the document seems to me to be one of its chief virtues, because, speaking for myself, I was unable to see the variety of circumstances with which this League would have to deal. I was unable, therefore, to plan all the machinery that might be necessary to meet the differing and unexpected contingencies. Therefore, I should say of this document that it is not a straitjacket but a vehicle of life. A living thing is born, and we must see to it what clothes we put on it.

It is not a vehicle of power, but a vehicle in which power may be varied at the discretion of those who exercise it and in accordance with the changing circumstances of the time. And yet, while it is elastic, while it is general in its terms, it is definite in the one thing that we were called upon to make definite. It is a definite guaranty of peace. It is a definite guaranty by word against aggression. It is a definite guaranty against the things which have just come near bringing the whole structure of civilization into ruin. Its purposes do not for a moment lie vague. Its purposes are declared, and its powers are unmistakable. It is not in contemplation that this should be merely a League to secure the peace of the world. It is a League which can be used for co-operation in any international matter.

LABOR GIVEN NEW STATUS.

That is the new significance of the provision introduced concerning labor. There are many ameliorations of labor conditions which can be effected by conference and discussion. I anticipate that there will be a very great usefulness in the bureau of labor which it is contemplated shall be set up by the League. Men and women and children who work have been in the background through long ages, and sometimes seemed to be forgotten, while Governments have had their

watchful and suspicious eyes upon the manoeuvres of one another, while the thought of statesmen has been about structural action and the larger transactions of commerce and of finance. Now, if I may believe the picture which I see there comes into the foreground the great body of the laboring people of the world, the men and the women and the children upon whom the great burden of sustaining the world must from day to day fall, whether we wish it to do so or not; people who go to bed tired and wake up without the stimulation of lively hope. These people will be drawn into the field of international consultation and help, and will be among the wards of the combined Governments of the world. There is, I take leave to say, a very great step in advance in the mere conception.

TREATIES MUST BE PUBLISHED.

Then, as you will notice, there is an imperative article concerning the publicity of all international agreements. Henceforth no member of the League can claim any agreement valid which has not been registered with the Secretary General, in whose office, of course, it will be subject to the examination of anybody representing a member of the League. And the duty is laid upon the Secretary General to publish every document of that sort at the earliest possible time. I suppose most persons who have not been conversant with the business of foreign affairs do not realize how many hundreds of these agreements are made in a single year, and how difficult it might be to publish the more unimportant of them immediately, how uninteresting it would be to most of the world to publish them immediately; but even they must be published just as soon as it is possible for the Secretary General to publish them.

Then there is a feature about this covenant which, to my mind, is one of the greatest and most satisfactory advances that has been made. We are done with annexations of helpless people, meant, in some instances by some powers, to be used merely for exploitation. We recognize in the most solemn manner that the helpless and undeveloped peoples of the world, being in that condition, put an obligation upon us to look after their interests primarily, before we use them for our interests, and that in all cases of this sort hereafter it shall be the duty of the League to see that the nations who are assigned as the tutors and advisers and directors of these peoples shall look to their interests and their development before they look to the interests and desires of the mandatory nation itself.

There has been no greater advance than this, gentlemen. If you look back upon the history of the world you will see how helpless peoples have too often been a prey to powers that had no conscience in the matter. It has been one of the many distressing revelations of recent years that the great power which has just been, happily, defeated, put intolerable burdens and injustices upon the helpless people in some of the colonies which it annexed to itself, that its interest was rather their extermination than their development; that the desire was to possess their land for European purposes, and not to enjoy their confidence in order that mankind might be lifted in these places to the next higher level.

Now, the world, expressing its conscience in law, says there is an end to that, that our consciences shall be settled to this thing. States will be picked out which have already shown that they can exercise a conscience in this matter, and under their tutelage the helpless peoples of the world will come into a new light and into a new hope.

SYMPATHY IN IT.

So I think I can say of this document that it is at one and the same time a practical document and a human document. There is a pulse of sympathy in it. There is a com-

pulsion of conscience throughout it. It is practical, and yet it is intended to purify, to rectify, to elevate.

And I want to say that so far as my observation instructs me, this is in one sense a belated document. I believe that the conscience of the world has long been prepared to express itself in some way. We are not just now discovering our sympathy for these people and our interest in them. We are simply expressing it, for it has long been felt and in the administration of the affairs of more than one of the great states represented here—so far as I know, all the great states are represented here—that humane impulse has already expressed itself in their dealings with their colonies, whose peoples were yet at a low stage of civilization.

We have had many instances of colonies lifted into the sphere of complete self-government. This is not the discovery of a principle. It is the universal application of a principle. It is the agreement of the great nations which have tried to live by these standards in their separate ad-

ministrations to unite in seeing that their common force and their common thought and intelligence are lent to this great and humane enterprise. I think it is an occasion, therefore, for the most profound satisfaction that this humane decision should be reached in a matter for which the world has long been waiting and until a very recent period thought that it was still too early to hope.

Many terrible things have come out of this war, gentlemen, but some very beautiful things have come out of it. Wrong has been defeated, but the rest of the world has been more conscious than it was ever before of the superiority of right. People that were suspicious of one another can now live as friends and comrades in a single family, and desire to do so. The miasma of distrust, of intrigue, is cleared away. Men are looking eye to eye and saying, "We are brothers and have a common purpose. We did not realize it before, but now we do realize it, and this is our covenant of friendship."

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